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MEMOIR

OF

RICHARD BUSBY

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No. 170

Walker & Boutall Pt & Sc

Richard Busby, D.D.

MEMOIR OF RICHARD BUSBY D.D. (1606—1695) WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF WESTMINSTER SCHOOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BY G. F. RUSSELL BARKER

"The good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beside."—R. ASCHAM.

LONDON: LAWRENCE AND BULLEN
16 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN
MDCCCXCV

Richard Clay & Sons, Limited,
London & Bungay.

PREFATORY NOTE

I HAVE to thank Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. for their permission to make use of my article on Dr. Busby which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for April last, and the editor of *Notes and Queries* for his permission to reprint Lady Elizabeth Winwood's interesting letter. My thanks are also due to the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford, and to the Dean of Westminster for allowing the portrait of Busby and the seal of the "Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster" respectively to be reproduced for the purpose of this book. I have also to express my obligations to Mr. John Sargeaunt, one of the Assistant Masters of Westminster School, for the chapter which he has kindly contributed on the subject of Busby's Account Book, and to Mr. Kneen, the Drawing-Master at the School, for his drawing of the old Rod-drawer and Busby's Chair. To Dr. Rutherford the Head-Master, Mr. Edward Scott the Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, Mr. Charles Trice Martin the senior Assistant-Keeper of the Record Office, Mr. John C. Thynne the Receiver-General of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Mr. George H. Radcliffe of the Chapter Clerks' Office, Mr. Wright the Clerk of the Works, the Rev. W. M. Blandford the Vicar of Lutton, the Rev. R. G. Randolph the Vicar of Willen, Mr. Alan H. Stenning, and to all others who have rendered me any assistance I tender my grateful thanks.

G. F. RUSSELL BARKER.

20, *Old Buildings,*
Lincoln's Inn.

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MEMOIR OF RICHARD BUSBY

CHAPTER I

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE

His birth, parentage, and education—His performance in Cartwright's *Royal Slave* at Oxford—Appointed Head-master of Westminster School and Prebendary of Wells—Parliamentary legislation affecting the School, 1642—1660—Management of the School entrusted to a committee—Appointment of "Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster"—Appointment of Visitors—Busby's position during the Commonwealth—The loyalty of the School—South's Sermon—Robert Uvedale—Services held in Busby's house—Appointment of Busby to a stall in Westminster Abbey—His part in the Coronation of Charles II. and James II.—His illness—His death—His monument in the Abbey.

READERS of the *Spectator*[1] will remember the account of Sir Roger de Coverley's visit to Westminster Abbey, and the reverential awe with which he stood up before Busby's monument exclaiming, "Dr. Busby, a great Man! he whipp'd my grandfather; a very great Man! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a Blockhead; a very great man!"

But though Busby, in the words of Anthony Wood,[2] was "a

[1] March 18, 1712, No. 239.

[2] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, edited by the Rev. Philip Bliss, 1813-20, vol. iv. p. 418.

person eminent and exemplary for piety and justice, an encourager of vertuous and forward youth, of great learning and hospitality, and the chief person that educated more youths that were afterwards eminent in the Church and State than any master of his time," he is now well-nigh forgotten, and visitors to the Abbey, when they pass by his monument, no longer "look as pale as his marble," [1] in remembrance of his severe exactions.

Richard Busby (the bi-centenary of whose death occurs this year) was born at Lutton, otherwise Sutton St. Nicholas, in Lincolnshire, on 22nd September, 1606.[2] Beyond the fact that he was the second son of a certain Richard Busby, one of the Churchwardens of Lutton, who soon after the birth of his second son left Lincolnshire to reside in Westminster, and that his mother was a sister of Henry Robinson of that city, and aunt of Thomas Robinson, who became Treasurer of the Inner Temple, and was created a baronet on 26th June, 1681, nothing is known about his parents. That they were poor there can be no doubt, for it appears from the accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, that young Richard Busby received from the parish £5 to enable him to proceed Bachelor, and a further sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to proceed Master of Arts.[3] Though he afterwards assumed the arms of the Busbys of Addington, there is no evidence that he was in any

[1] *Works of Mr. Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse*, 1707-8, vol. iii. pp. 46-7.

[2] This is the date given on his monument in the Abbey. He was baptized at Lutton on 28th September, 1606, and is described in the Lutton Register simply as "Richard Busby, son of Richard Busby," no mention being made of his mother.

[3] Widmore's *History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, 1751, p. 227, note. Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1776, Cent. I. p. 19, asserts that Busby owed his education to the Welbys, an ancient Lincolnshire family.

way connected with that family.[1] The date of his admission to the School, over which he was destined so worthily to preside, is unknown. It must, however, have been during the Head-mastership of Dr. John Wilson, who is said to have had "a faculty more than ordinary in instructing youth."[2] As there are no lists of minor candidates for this period, there are no means of ascertaining the date of his election on the foundation,[3] whence he was elected (it is said in 1624) to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford. There he matriculated on 10th February, 1625-6, and graduated B.A. 21st October, 1628, and M.A. 18th June, 1631. Busby was some years a tutor at Christ Church,[4] at which time he was esteemed "an exact Latinist and Grecian, and soon after better for oratory."[5] On 30th August, 1636, he acted the part of Cratander in Cartwright's *Royal Slave* before the King and Queen at Christ Church with great applause.[6] So brilliant was his success on this occasion, that he

[1] For a pedigree of this family see Lipscomb's *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 1847, vol. ii. pp. 507-8.

[2] *Alumni Westmonasterienses*, 1852, p. 71.

[3] From the tablet in the Dormitory it would appear that Busby was admitted on the foundation as Captain of his Election, but the earlier names on this tablet are open to considerable doubt.

[4] Though there is no record of the tutors at Christ Church, there is a list of caution money paid by undergraduates, and this was generally paid through a censor or tutor. By the courtesy of the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, the Keeper of the Archives, I learn that the first payment of caution money by Busby was made on 5th October, 1632, and the last on 31st March, 1637.

[5] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 418.

[6] William Cartwright, the author of the *Royal Slave, a Tragi-Comedy*, was elected from Westminster to Christ Church in 1628. The music to the songs was written by the celebrated composer Henry Lawes (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Sixth Report*, part 1, p. 307). George Evelyn of Trinity College, Oxford, alludes to this performance in a letter written to his father at Wotton, and printed in *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn*, 1819, vol. i. p. 662.

seriously thought at one time of adopting the stage as a profession. Ultimately he took orders, and in 1638 he was provisionally appointed Head-master of Westminster School, in the place of Lambert Osbaldeston or Osbolston, who in the following year was deprived of all his spiritual dignities and promotions for calling Archbishop Laud "the little Urchin" and "the little medling Hocus-Pocus," and was sentenced to "stand in the Pillory in the Dean's Yard before his own School." [1]

On 1st July, 1639, Busby was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth with the Chapel of Knowle annexed in the church of Wells. On 14th December, 1640, an order of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster was made confirming his appointment to "the office and room of schoolmaster, with his house and lodging thereunto belonging," the yearly stipend of £20, and the sum of 20 marks in lieu of "diet." [2]

Several important enactments affecting the School were passed during the earlier years of Busby's rule.

On 29th October, 1642, it was ordered by the House of Commons, "that it be referred to the Committee for the King's Revenue, to consider of the College of Westminster, the College of Eaton, of

[1] See Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, 1721, vol. ii. pp. 803—817.

[2] *Extracts from Acts of Chapter of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster*, p. 17. The date given on his monument, viz. 23rd December, 1640, is probably the date of the patent. The stipend of the Head-master had been originally fixed by the Statutes at £12 a year, but was subsequently raised to £20. Until the appointment of the Governing Body in 1869, the Head-master continued to receive from the Dean and Chapter the yearly stipend of £20, together with £19 6*s.* 8*d.* in lieu of commons in hall, and the use of the Head-master's house (No. 19, Great Dean's Yard), subject to the nominal rent of 6*s.* 2*d.* per annum. See Dr. Scott's evidence before the Public School Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1864, vol. xxi. p. 411.

Christ Church in Oxon., and Winchester to provide for those Colleges; that none of their Revenues, assessed for the Scholars and Alms-men of those Colleges, may be stopped, or the Payment thereof interrupted notwithstanding the ordinance of sequestring the Rents and Profits of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, etc."[1] On 2nd November following a resolution was carried "that none of the Rents, Revenues or Profits of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster assigned for the maintenance of the Scholars and Almsmen of the Foundation of the said Collegiate Church of Westminster be stopt, or the Payment thereof interrupted notwithstanding the order of both Houses for sequestering Rents, Profits and Revenues of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and that the Receiver of the College do receive the rents as formerly; and the Steward the other Provisions."[2]

On 20th February, 1642-3, it was resolved "that the Colleges of Westminster, Eaton, and Winchester be added and comprehended within the order of the 17th February concerning the imposing upon Young Scholars the Wearing of Surplices."[3]

On 13th January, 1643-4, a committee was appointed "to inquire into the state of the Collegiate Church at Westminster and into the Abuses, and to present unto the House what they think fit to be done in the matter."[4] On 22nd April, 1644, it was ordered

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 827.

[2] *ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 830-1.

[3] *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 972. The order of 17th February, 1642-3 was as follows: "That the Statute made in the University of Cambridge, which imposeth the wearing of Surplices upon all Graduates and Students under several pains, and reinforced by the Canons of 1603, ought not to be pressed or imposed upon any Student or Graduate, it being against Law and Liberty of the Subject" (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 969).

[4] *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 365.

that "all Persons whatsoever belonging unto or that have any Dependence upon, the Collegiate Church of Westminster do take the National Covenant in the said Church, upon Saturday next, at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon: And Dr. Smyth or Mr. Gibson are desired to administer the same, and see it subscribed according to former Directions." [1]

On 8th May following an order was made "that the Plate lately found, that belongs unto the College of Westminster, now in the Possession of Sir Robert Harley, be forthwith melted; and the Proceed of that Plate be disposed by the Committee appointed for the Collegiate Church of Westminster, or any five of them, for such Uses concerning the said Collegiate Church, and to such Servants, Workmen, and others as they shall think fit." [2]

By an ordinance of the Lords and Commons dated 18th November, 1645,[3] the government of the College and Collegiate Church of Westminster was consigned to a committee of thirty-three persons, eleven lords and twenty-two commoners. The members of this committee were the Earl of Northumberland, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Denbigh, Earl of Manchester, Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord Willoughby, Lord North, Lord Montague, Lord Roberts, Lord Howard, Mr. Solicitor,[4] Mr. Rous, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Wheeler, Sir Robert Harley, Mr. Maynard, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Strickland, Mr. Ashurst, Sir John

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iii. p. 468.

[2] *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 486. Sir Robert Harley was the Chairman of the Committee for demolishing superstitious monuments in the cities of London and Westminster.

[3] *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. vii. pp. 710-11. See also pp. 663, 673, 676, 678, 702, 705.

[4] Oliver St. John, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Clotworthy, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Gurdon, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Recorder,[1] Sir William Masham, Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Salwey, Mr. Hoyle, Sir John Dryden, Sir Henry Vane, junior, and Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq.

To this committee, "or any seven or more of them," was given "the same and like Power and Authority, to all Intents and Purposes, as any Dean and Prebends have, or of right ought to have had, in the ordering, directing, and disposing the Rents, Issues and Profits belonging, or in any Wise appertaining, to the said College or Collegiate Church; and in doing and executing all other Act or Acts, Thing or Things that any Way concerns the said College or Collegiate Church; provided that the same extend not to the letting Leases of any Houses or Lands belonging to the said College for above the Space of Three Years; reserving at the least such Yearly Rents, Profits, and Services, as were formerly payable out of any such Lands or Houses, unto the said College or Collegiate Church." The Dean and Prebends (with the exception of Lambert Osbaldeston) "and all other Officers, Members, and Servants belonging to the said College or Collegiate Church, and every of them, that have absented themselves from their Offices and Places, or are Delinquents or have not taken the Covenant," were suspended from their several offices. Among other regulations concerning the appointment of officers, servants, and almsmen, and "the upholding of Preaching in the Abbey of Westminster," it was also ordained that "the said Committee or any seven or more of them, together with the Master of Trinity College in Cambridge and the Master of the said School in Westminster, shall hereby have the like power to

[1] John Glynne, afterwards Chief Justice of the Upper Bench.

elect and choose Scholars into the said School, and thence to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge aforesaid, and to Christ Church in Oxford, as by the Statutes of the said College of Westminster was invested in the Deans of Westminster and Christ Church, the Master of Trinity College and Westminster School aforesaid. Provided nevertheless, when the said Dean or Master of Christ Church aforesaid, shall not be a Delinquent to the Parliament, his right in the Election aforesaid, according to the said Statutes, shall not hereby be impeached."

On 11th September, 1646, it was resolved "that the Scholars of Westminster elected to go from thence to Christ Church in Oxford, may go thither; and shall be forthwith admitted into Scholarships there, notwithstanding any order of either House of Parliament to the contrary." [1]

On 22nd March, 1647-8, the House of Commons after some considerable delay passed an ordinance sent from the House of Lords "giving Authority to the Committee for the College of Westminster for bringing in the Revenue, and other Monies, belonging to the said College, and punishing such as shall disobey their orders concerning the same." [2]

On 19th April, 1648, Mr. Denys Bond was appointed a member of the Committee for the College of Westminster in the place of Sir John Clotworthy.[3] Mr. Masham, Mr. Feilder, and Mr. Luke

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iv. p. 666. A resolution had been passed a few days previously that "the scholars of Westminster elected to go from thence to Christ Church in Oxford may go thither, notwithstanding any Order of either House of Parliament to the contrary" (*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 662).

[2] *ibid.* vol. v. p. 508. See also pp. 409, 463, 479, and *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. ix. p. 614.

[3] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. v. pp. 536, 537.

Hodges were added to the Committee on 2nd April, 1649,[1] and Sir Gregory Norton and Mr. Humphrey Edwards on 24th May, following.[2] On 16th June, 1649, the quorum of the Committee was reduced to five.[3]

The School was especially excepted from the provisions of the Act passed by the House of Commons in April 1649, which abolished all deans and chapters, and vested their property in Sir John Wollaston and fourteen other trustees.[4] As the School, however, was not a distinct foundation of itself, but part of the corporation or foundation of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster it became dependent upon these trustees for its means of subsistence. To remedy this state of affairs, an Act was passed on 26th September, 1649, "for the continuance and maintenance of the School and Almshouses of Westminster."[5] Under this Act the following persons, fifty-six in number, were appointed "Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster": Sir William Masham, Bart., Sir John Danvers, Kt., Sir John Trevor, Kt., Francis Rous, Nicholas Love, John Gurdon, Humphrey Salwey, John Fielder, Esqs.; Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Lord Commissioner Lisle, Sir William Strickland, Bart., Sir Henry Vane, jun., Kt., Sir James Harrington, Kt., Edmund Ludlow, Thomas Lister, John White, Luke Hodges, John Weaver, John Dove, Augustine Garland, John Carew, Henry Smith, William Cawley, Esqs.; Edward Prideaux,

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vi. p. 178.

[2] *ibid.* vol. vi. p. 216. [3] *ibid.* vol. vi. p. 235.

[4] A collection of Acts of Parliament from 16th January, 1648-9, to 11th October, 1649 (Brit. Mus. E. 1060), p. 177.

[5] *ibid.* p. 581. See also *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vi. pp. 236, 237, 283, 295, 297, 299.

Esq., Attorney General; John Downes, John Venn, Esqs., Thomas Atkin, Alderman of London, Edward Lord Howard, Nathaniel Rich, William Masham, Michael Oldworth, Esq., John Bradshaw, Sergeant at Law, Lord President of the Council of State, Daniel Blagrave, Humphrey Edwards, Esqs., Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William Earl of Salisbury, Charles Fleetwood, Luke Robinson, Cornelius Holland, Esqs., Sir William Armyn, Henry Marten, Algernon Sidney, George Thompson, Robert Wallop, Richard Salwey, Gilbert Millington, William Leaman, Sir John Hippesley, Sir Richard Lucy, John Moore, Thomas Challoner, Thomas Toll, William Stephens, Laurence Whittaker, Esqs., Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London, and Rowland Wilson, Alderman of London.[1] In them were vested "the structure called the Abbey of Westminster with the Cloysters" etc., the Dean's House, "the Schoolhouse and Library, the Lodgings for the Schollars, Ushers, Auditor, and Library Keeper," the houses belonging "to the Schoolmaster, Receiver or Launder," the "buildings called the Grainery, Bakehouse and Brewhouse," the almshouses "lately belonging unto the said Colledge," the prebendal houses (with one exception), the Common "known by the name of Tuthil Fields," "the Schoolhouse" at Chiswick, and the several yearly rents issuing out of the hereditaments in the Act specifically mentioned.

The Governors were duly incorporated, and were granted the use of a Common Seal.[2] They were directed to govern the School

[1] Sir William Brereton, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Say appear to have subsequently become Governors. See Bagshawe's *True and Perfect Narrative*, etc., 1659, pp. 11, 12, 24, 31.

[2] A fine impression of the seal, reproduced in this volume from casts made in the British Museum, was discovered by Mr. Edward Scott in the course of his

The School-room.

and almshouses "according to such Statutes (not being Superstitious nor derogatory to the Government now established) as are to be found amongst the Statutes of the said late Colledge touching or concerning the said School and Almshouses and other charitable uses," and out of the revenues of the Corporation to "maintain the said School and Almshouses and the Members of every of them." They were also authorized to place such poor men in the almshouses[1] "when any place shall become void as they shall think most deserving," to make a certain weekly allowance to the poor, to maintain and educate four poor scholars in the School on Doctor Williams's foundation,[2] to pay stipends to the preachers and lecturers, and to

investigation of the muniments belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. It is attached to a Deed Poll, dated 19th April, 1660, whereby the Governors appointed one John Lyde of Newbury, Berks, Maltster, to the post of Bailiff and Collector of the Bailiwick of Stephington and Manor of Bagnor in the county of Berks aforesaid.

[1] These almshouses stood on the south side of the Gatehouse and to the north of the Almonry. They were founded by Henry VIII. for thirteen poor men, one to be "a priest, aged 45 years, and a good grammarian," the other twelve to be unmarried, and aged 50 years. Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, 1857, pp. 279-80.

[2] John Williams, who was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1620, and subsequently became Archbishop of York, appears to have intended to add to the foundation, but never provided sufficient funds for carrying his purpose into effect. "The matter was investigated in the Court of Exchequer, which made a final order in the case, 13th April, 1836. The Master entrusted with the enquiry found that the original deed of foundation, if ever executed, was lost, or not to be discovered; but that certain provisions which it had contained or was meant to contain were recited in a deed, conveying a rent charge for the benefit of the foundation. The boys were to have gowns furnished them, their meals in hall like the Queen's scholars, and to occupy the chambers which the Bishop had provided for them. Further directions are given for their election and promotion to St. John's College, Cambridge. . . . The charity had been wholly neglected or improperly administered until the suit in the Court of Exchequer; the order then

keep in good repair the Abbey and other buildings belonging to the Corporation. From a recital in this Act it appears that the annual charge of the School, almshouses, weekly charities, and maintenance of the Abbey buildings was computed to amount to £1929 12*s.* 0*d.*

On 12th October, 1649, it was resolved by Parliament "that all and every the Masters, Fellows, Schoolmasters, and Scholars, in all and every the Colleges of Eaton, Winchester and Westminster should take the Engagement."[1] By an ordinance of 2nd September, 1654, Commissioners were appointed for visiting the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and it was further ordained that any four or more of these Visitors, provided there were two at least of each University, might serve as "Visitors of the School of Westminster."[2]

Though deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments Busby was allowed to retain the post of Head-master. This was doubtless owing partly to the great reputation which he had already acquired

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made directs election to be made from boys born in Wales and in the diocese of Lincoln alternately, and in default of these from Westminster. . . . The boys were to have blue gowns provided for them, and to receive the rest of their dividend in books" (Dr. Scott's answer to the inquiries of the Public School Commissioners, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1864, vol. xx. p. 199). The blue gowns of the "Bishop's Boys" were abolished by Dr. Liddell; while the Scholarships at St. John's were suppressed by the University Commissioners of 1856. The last election of a "Bishop's Boy" took place on 2nd May, 1872. Shortly afterwards the trusts of Bishop Williams's foundation were abrogated, and the endowment (producing some £72 per annum) was consolidated with the School Exhibition Fund.

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vi. p. 307.

[2] Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, 1658 pp. 366-8. This ordinance was confirmed in 1656, and "continued for six months from and after the end of the first session of this present Parliament" (*ibid.* p. 394).

as a schoolmaster,[1] and partly to the influence which he appears to have had with the ruling authorities. How far he outwardly conformed it is impossible to discover.[2] Whether he took the covenant and engagement there is nothing to show. But however improbable it may seem that he should have taken them, it is even more improbable that he should have been allowed to retain this important post while disobeying the orders of Parliament, which were enforced with the utmost rigour.

Apparently he made but little attempt to disguise his loyalty, and the School remained steadfast in its adherence to Church and State. To this the famous divine, Robert South, who lies by his Master's side in the Abbey, bears striking testimony. In a sermon which "was penned and prepared to have been preached at Westminster Abbey, at a solemn meeting of such as had been bred at Westminster School,"[3] but never delivered, South declares that the

[1] "The House rose at two. The Chair behaves itself like a Busby among so many school-boys, as some say; and takes a little too much on him but grandly" (*Diary of Thomas Burton*, edited by J. T. Rutt, 1828, vol. iv. p. 243). The date of this entry is 23rd March, 1658-9.

[2] Charges of time-serving are made against Busby both by Pope and Hearne. See the *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, 1697, p. 38, and Hearne's *Collections* (Oxford Historical Soc. Pub., No. ii.), vol. i. p. 10, note.

[3] Sermon xlix., "The virtuous education of Youth the surest if not sole way to a happy and honourable old Age," contained in *Sermons preached upon several occasions by Robert South*, 1865, vol. i. pp. 420—432. From "the advertisement to the reader," it appears that this sermon had been written at the instigation of Jeffreys when Lord Chief Justice, and that owing to the death of Charles II. "the design of this solemnity fell to the ground together with him." It is somewhat curious that in this sermon, which would have been delivered in Busby's presence had it been preached, South launches out against "those *plagosi orbilii*, those executioners rather than instructors of youth; persons fitted to lay about them in a coach or cart, or to discipline boys before a Spartan altar, or rather upon it, than to have anything to do in a Christian school" (p. 427).

School was "so untaintedly loyal, that I can truly and knowingly aver, that in the very worst of times (in which it was my lot to be a member of it) we really were King's scholars as well as called so."[1] "Nay upon that very day," he adds, "that black and eternally infamous day of the King's murder, I myself heard, and am now a witness, that the King was publicly prayed for in this school but an hour or two (at most) before his sacred head was struck off."[2] And this loyal genius always continued amongst us, and grew up with us, and which made that noted Corypheus[3] of the independent faction (and some time after, namely, 1651, promoted by Cromwell's interest to the deanery of Christ Church in Oxford) often say, that it would never be well with the nation till this school was suppressed; for that it naturally bred men up to an opposition to the Government. And so far indeed he was in the right. For it did breed people to an opposition to that Government which had opposed and destroyed all governments besides itself; nay and even itself too at last; which was the only good thing it ever did. But if, in those days, some four or five bred up in this school (though not under this master) did unworthily turn aside to other by-ways and principles, we can however truly say this of them, that 'they went out from us, yet they were never of us.' For this school itself

[1] An edition of the Septuagint, a copy of which is in the School Library, was even dedicated in 1653 "Inclytæ Scholæ Regiæ Westmonasteriensi." Busby describes himself in his will as "one of the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster and Master of the King's School there."

[2] In the *Alumni Westmon.*, p. 136, it is stated that South himself read the prayers, but this is obviously incorrect, as South, who was not elected to Christ Church until 1651, could not have been one of the monitors at the time of the King's execution.

[3] Dr. John Owen.

made good its claim to that Glorious motto of its royal foundress, *Semper eadem;* the temper and genius of it being neither to be corrupted with promises, nor controlled with threats. For though, indeed, we had some of those fellows for our governors, (as they called themselves,) yet thanks be to God, they were never our teachers; no, not so much as when they would have perverted us from the pulpit. I myself, while a scholar here, have heard a prime preacher[1] of those times, thus addressing himself from this very pulpit, to the leading grandees of the faction in the pew under it. 'You stood up,' says he, 'for your liberties, and you did well.' And what he meant by their liberties, and what by their standing up for them, I suppose needs no explication. But though our ears were still encountered with such doctrines in the church, it was our happiness to be taught other doctrines in the school; and what we drank in there, proved an effectual antidote against the poison prepared for us here."

An incident which occurred at the Protector's funeral also illustrates the general loyalty of the School at this period. A Westminster boy named Robert Uvedale, indignant at the honour paid to one whom he had been taught to regard as a usurper, "sprang forward through the legs of the guard, snatched from the bier the little satin banner known as the Majesty Scutcheon, and darted back again, and before any one

[1] William Strong, the famous Independent. He was buried in the Abbey on 4th July, 1654. His remains were disinterred after the Restoration, and thrown with other bodies into a common pit in the churchyard on the north side of the Abbey. A collection of *XXXI Select Sermons, preached on special occasions . . . by William Strong that Godly, Able and Faithful Minister of Christ lately of the Abbey at Westminster,* was published in 1656.

could recover from the shock of surprise was lost in the crowd of his schoolfellows." [1]

A curious piece of evidence, showing Busby's attachment to the Church services during these troublous times, is to be found in the dedication to Busby of the first part of Edward Wetenhall's treatise, *Of Gifts and Offices in the Publick Worship of God.*[2] Wetenhall, after owning that he had received from Busby "not only excellent Rudiments of good Literature, but the first Rational Impressions of Religion," adds—"I rather prefix this Recognition to the ensuing Discourse than to either of the other in its company, because, Sir, it was truly the sense I had of your piety which first operated towards reconciling me to Church-musick. I came to you with prejudices (very unreasonable, such as commonly all prejudices are) against it. The first organ I ever saw or heard was in your House, which was in those dayes a more regular Church than most we had publickly. I then thus judged, if a man of such real Devotion, as I knew you to be of, would keep an Organ for sacred Use, even when it was interdicted and of dangerous consequence, there was certainly more of reason for it, and serviceableness in it, than I apprehended."

During the latter half of 1657 and the earlier months of the following year an attempt was made to shake Busby's supremacy

[1] *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Common-wealth*, by Margaret M. Verney, vol. iii. pp. 424-5. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792, pt. 1, p. 114. This trophy is now in the possession of the Rev. Washbourne West, Bursar of Lincoln College, Oxford, a lineal descendant of Robert Uvedale.

[2] Dublin, 1679, 16°. The first part, entitled *Of the Gift of Prayer*, has a separate title-page, which is dated 1678. Edward Wetenhall was elected from Westminster to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1655. He became Bishop of Cork and Ross in 1689, and was translated to the See of Kilmore in 1699.

in the School by the second master, Edward Bagshawe, who was supported in his revolt by Dean Owen of Christ Church. The account of Bagshawe's quarrel with Busby forms the subject of a succeeding chapter.

Busby's name appears in "the order of Procession to the Funeral of Oliver Cromwell," [1] on 23rd November, 1658.

Busby's services to the royal cause were promptly recognized at the Restoration.[2] On 5th July, 1660, he was installed a Prebendary of Westminster, and four days afterwards was appointed Treasurer of the Abbey.[3] He was duly restored to his Prebend at Wells, and on 11th August, 1660, was also made Treasurer of that Cathedral. On 19th October of the same year the University of Oxford, without putting him to the necessity of taking his B.D., conferred upon him the degree of D.D. At the coronation of Charles II., on 23rd April, 1661, Busby carried the ampulla of the new regalia.[4] He served as proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells, in the Southern Convocation, which met in June 1661, and was one of those who approved

[1] *Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. ii. p. 522.

[2] In the Public Record Office is preserved a certificate by Henry King Bishop of Chichester, John Cosin, Robert Sanderson, and John Earles, "that Richard Busby has faithfully served for 20 years as Governor of Westminster School, and led a charitable, exemplary, and loyal life" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1660-1, p. 60).

[3] From his accounts as Treasurer for the year ending on Michaelmas day, 1664, which are preserved in the British Museum (Harleian MSS. 4184), we learn that he received the sum of £28 as Prebendary, £4 as Treasurer, and £20 as Headmaster. Amongst the more curious items are:—£6 for the expenses of the election; £4 to John Hill "for playing on the Cornett in the Church"; and £2 13*s.* 6*d.* "for binding old books and 2 dozen of brass loops to chain them." An abstract of these accounts is given in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, 1802, vol. i. pp. 245-49.

[4] White Kennett's *Register and Chronicle*, 1728, p. 412.

and subscribed the Book of Common Prayer on 20th December in that year.[1]

Humphrey Prideaux, writing from Oxford to his friend John Ellis on 2nd February, 1667, says—"old Busby hath long talked to us of a benefaction he intends to bestow upon us for the erecteing of a catachist lecture [in] the University, but hath soe many cautions in his head, and adjoynes such hard conditions with it, that the University cannot receive it. The old man a little before Christmas spit blood, and thought he should have immediately dyed, but when I was with him I thought him as well as ever I saw him since I knew him."[2]

On 16th January, 1672, he was appointed Archdeacon of Westminster, and was succeeded in the post of Treasurer by Richard Perrincheif.

Busby took part in the coronation of James the Second on 23rd April, 1685, as bearer of the orb with the Cross. In 1689 he built "the Prebendal House (now occupied by Bishop Monk), intending to retire there in his old age; but never seems to have occupied it."[3] He again served as proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells in the Southern Convocation, which assembled on 21st November in that year.[4]

[1] White Kennett's *Register and Chronicle*, 1728, p. 584.

[2] *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis* (Camden Soc. Publications, New Series, No. xv.), p. 59. Prideaux adds, "Knipe hath quite ruined that school by his neglect to ly in the Colledge."

[3] Radclyffe's *Memorials of Westminster School*, 1845. This house in the Little Cloisters is now occupied by Canon Duckworth. In one of the rooms is a finely-decorated ceiling of a similar character to that in the School Library.

[4] Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, 1849, p. 435. See also Severne's letter to Busby in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 406.

In December 1691 he had another serious attack of illness. Luttrell writes in his Diary for the 29th of that month—"Dr. Busby of Westminster School is given over: beleived he will be succeeded by Mr. Knipe therein."

Busby, however, recovered, and Thomas Knipe, who had been appointed Second Master in 1663, had to wait a few years longer.

Busby died at Westminster on 5th April, 1695, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. Sir Charles Lyttelton[2] relates "an od story, that y^e^ people in y^e^ street, when he was expiring, saw flashes and sparks of fire come out of his window, w^ch^ made them run into y^e^ house to put it out, but when they were there saw none, nor did they of y^e^ house." He was buried[3] in the Abbey under the black and white marble pavement of the Choir in front of the steps leading to the Sacrarium. The exact spot where the great School-master lies is marked on one of the small marble slabs with the simple inscription —"R^d^. B. 1695." His monument by Francis Bird[4] stands against

[1] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, vol. ii. p. 324.

[2] *Hatton Correspondence* (Camden Soc. Pub., New Series, No. xxiii.),vol. ii. p. 216.

[3] According to the burial register Busby was buried on 5th April, 1695, but this is obviously wrong. See Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Soc. Pub., No. x.), p. 236. There is no reason for doubting the date of death given on the monument, as it is confirmed both by Luttrell, vol. iii. p. 458, and by Sir Charles Lyttelton, in the letter referred to in the text.

[4] Francis Bird was the sculptor of the once familiar statue of Queen Anne, which was removed from the west front of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1885. He died on 20th February, 1731. Busby's monument was probably the best piece of work which he ever did. It struck M. Grosley "by its exact resemblance for beauty and truth to the celebrated Languet, curate of S. Sulpice's Church at Paris." *A Tour to London, or New Observations on England and its Inhabitants*, by M. Grosley, F.R.S., translated from the French by Thomas Nugent, LL.D., 1772, vol. i. p. 206. There is an engraving of Busby's monument in Dart's *Westmonasterium*, 1742, vol. i. p. 92.

the wainscot of the choir, opposite the South Transept. He is represented by the Sculptor in a reclining position, robed in his clerical vestments, holding in one hand a pen, and in the other an open book, and apparently looking at the following inscription[1] recorded on the tablet behind :—

En infra positam, | qualis hominum Oculis obversabatur, | BUSBEII Imaginem ! | Si eam | quæ in Animis altius insedit, | ultra desideras ; | Academiæ utriusque, et Fori lumina, | Aulæ, Senatûs, atque Ecclesiæ | Principes Viros contemplare : | cumque satam ab Illo Ingeniorum messem | tam variam, tamque uberem lustraveris ; | quantus Is esset, qui severit, cogita. | Is certe erat, | qui insitam cuique à Naturâ Indolem | et acutè perspexit, | et exercuit commode, | et feliciter promovit. | Is erat, | qui Adolescentium Animos | ita docendo finxit, aluitque | ut tam sapere discerent, quam Fari ; | dumque Pueri instituebantur, sensim succrescerent Viri. | Quotquot Illius disciplinâ penitus imbuti | in Publicum prodiere, | tot adepta est Monarchia, | tot Ecclesia Anglicana. | Propugnatores, | Fides omnes, plerosque strenuos. | Quæcunque demum sit Fama | *Scholæ Westmonasterienſis*, | quicquid inde ad Homines fructus redundârit, | *Busbeio*, maximè debetur, | atque in omne porro Ævum debebitur. | Tam utilem Patriæ Civem | multis Annis, Opibusque florere voluit Deus ; | vicissim Ille | Pietati promovendæ | se, et sua alacris devovit : | Pauperibus subvenire, | Literatos fovere, | Templa instaurare, | id Illi erat Divitijs frui ; | et hos in Usus, | quicquid non erogârat Vivus, | Legavit Moriens.

At the sides of the tablet, which is sculptured so as to represent expanded drapery, are pilasters supporting a cornice and pediment, on which are two sepulchral lamps, and a shield of arms,[2] decorated

[1] "I heard one of New College say that Dr. Busby desired the inscription over his grave might be *Oblivio*" (Hearne's *Collections* (Oxford Historical Soc. Pub., No. 2), vol. i. p. 10).

[2] Or, three arrows Sab. on a Chief of the Last, as many Mulletts of the First. These were the arms borne by the Busbys of Addington. The same arms, together with a stag's head pierced through the neck with an arrow as a crest, are stamped on several of the books presented to the School by Busby.

with festoons of flowers. In front of the monument several open books are scattered about, others are piled up in heaps; between these the following particulars are inscribed: —

RICHARDUS BUSBY, LINCOLNIENSIS.

S. T. P.

Natus est Luttoniæ		1606.	Sept 22.
Scholæ Westmonst. præfectus est		1640.	Dec 23.
Sedem in Eccles.	Westmonst. prebendarius	1600	July 5.
	obtinuit Anno Domini		
	Wellensi Thesaurarius.		Aug. 12.
Obijt		1695	April 5.

The Seal of the Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster. Obverse.

CHAPTER II

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE (*continued*)

His extraordinary success as a school-master—His illustrious pupils—His severity —Beloved by his scholars—His piety—His benefactions—His will—The Busby Trust—Busby's relations.

BUSBY was undoubtedly one of the greatest school-masters that this or any other country has ever produced. He guided the destinies of the School with a firm hand and an unerring eye for nearly fifty-seven years, retaining his post through the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Revolution, thus serving three dynasties, and witnessing three changes of worship. To him alone is the credit due for the extraordinary success of the School during his long and eventful reign. The best testimonial of a head-master is the success of his scholars, and no master perhaps ever had had so many successful scholars as Busby. He is said to have boasted, that at one time sixteen out of the whole bench of Bishops had been educated by him.[1]

[1] Seward's *Anecdotes*, 1804, vol. ii. p. 150. This is probably apocryphal. Of the thirteen English and Irish bishops who are known to have received their education at Westminster under Busby, only six were consecrated in his lifetime. These thirteen bishops were—1. John Dolben, consecrated Nov. 1666, died April 1686. 2. Edward Wetenhall, consecrated March 1679, died November 1713. 3. George Hooper (of whom Busby is reported to have said that "he was the best

John Dryden,[1] Philip Henry, John Locke, Sir Christopher Wren,

scholar, the finest gentleman, and would make the completest bishop that ever was educated at Westminster"), consecrated Oct. 1703, died Sept. 1727. 4. Edward Jones, consecrated March 1683, died May 1703. 5. Henry Rider, consecrated June 1693, died Jan. 1695. 6. Charles Hickman, consecrated June 1703, died Nov. 1713. 7. Jonathan Trelawny, consecrated Nov. 1685, died July 1721. 8. Lancelot Blackburn, consecrated Feb. 1717, died March 1743. 9. Francis Atterbury, consecrated July 1713, died Feb. 1732. 10. Francis Gastrell, consecrated April 1714, died Nov. 1725. 11. Welbore Ellis, consecrated Nov. 1705, died January 1734. 12. George Smalridge, consecrated April 1714, died September 1719. 13. John Vesey, consecrated January 1673, died March 1716. There may of course have been others, as the names of only a few of the town boys of this period have been preserved. Towards the close of the last century the School seems to have acquired a special fame for producing bishops. William Mason, in a letter to Horace Walpole, dated 2nd July, 1782, writes, "There was a bishop, I think it was Sprat, who thanked God that though he was not educated at Westminster, yet he became a Bishop. I, on the contrary, would not have been educated there for the best pair of lawn sleeves in the kingdom. But *de gustibus non est disputandum*" (Walpole's *Letters*, 1857-59, vol. viii. p. 240). Warburton, in his edition of Pope's *Works*, published in 1770, while referring to Sprat, says—"As to the turn of his piety and genius, it is best seen by his last will and testament, where he gives God thanks that he, who had been neither at Eaton nor Westminster, but at a little country school by the churchyard side, should at last come to be a Bishop." He adds, "But the honour of being a Westminster School-boy some have at one age, and some at another, and some all their life long. Our grateful Bishop, though he had it not in his youth, yet it came upon him in his old age" (vol. iv. p. 157). As a matter of fact, Sprat seems to have made no reference to Westminster in his will at all. See *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Sprat, late Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, with a true copy of his Last Will and Testament*, 1715, p. 18.

[1] In the postscript to the argument of the *Third Satire of Persius*, Dryden says, "I remember I translated this satire when I was a King's scholar at Westminster School, for a Thursday night's exercise; and believe that it, and many other of my exercises of this nature in English verse, are still in the hands of my learned master, the Rev. Dr. Busby" (*Works of John Dryden*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 1821, vol. xiii. p. 230). A form on which Dryden's name is cut in large letters is carefully preserved in the school.

Robert South,[1] Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Henry Aldrich, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, Francis Atterbury, Matthew Prior, William Shippen, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Barton Booth, and numbers of other distinguished men received their education at Westminster under Busby.

Steele[2] says, "I must confess (and I have often reflected upon it) that I am of opinion Busby's Genius for education had as great an Effect upon the age he lived in, as that of any ancient Philosopher, without excepting one, had upon his Contemporaries. Tho' I do not perceive that admirable Man is remembered by them, at least not recorded by them, with half the Veneration he deserves. I have known great Numbers of his Scholars, and I am confident, I could discover a stranger who had been such, with a very little Conversation: Those of great Parts, who have passed through his Instruction, have such a peculiar Readiness of Fancy and Delicacy of Taste, as is seldom found in Men educated elsewhere, tho' of equal Talents; and those who were of slower Capacities, have an Arrogance (for Learning without Genius always produces that) that sets them much above greater Merit that grew under any other Gardiner. He had a Power of raising what the Lad had in him to the utmost height in what Nature designed him; and it was not his Fault, but the effect of Nature, that there were no indifferent People come out of his Hands; but his Scholars were the finest Gentlemen, or the greatest Pedants in the age. The Soil which he manured always grew fertile,[3] but it is not

[1] Of South, Busby is related to have said, "I see great talents in that sulky boy, and I shall endeavour to bring them out" (*Alumni Westmon.*, p. 136).

[2] *The Lover*, 27th April, 1714, No. 27.

[3] The same idea occurs in a letter dated 19th Nov., 1664, written by Sir

in the Planter to make Flowers of Weeds, but whatever it was under Busby's eye, it was sure to get forward towards the Use for which Nature designed it." [1]

Of his severity, which has become almost proverbial, there is plenty of evidence, though the reputation which he gained in this respect is said by some to rest only upon general tradition, and by others to have owed its origin to the malignity of party spirit. He appears to have compelled industry in the first instance by force, and then to have worked by love. It is certain that he gained the veneration and affection of many of his pupils, notwithstanding his excessive use of the birch. Dryden throughout his life retained the greatest respect for him. Philip Henry frequently referred to him in terms of the deepest gratitude. Robert Tatnal often told Calamy pleasant stories of his old master.[2] Thomas Severne in a letter to Busby subscribes himself as "your first-beloved scholar." [3] Atterbury describes him as "a man to be reverenced very highly," and speaks of leaving Westminster "loaded with his counsels, his warnings and his

William Morice, Secretary of State, to Busby, recommending his cousin Humphrey Prideaux to the Head-master's "special care and protection." "I hope," he writes, "Nature hath in good measure disposed him for Learning, and that his country rudiments will be no prejudice to his progress therein; but my greatest confidence ariseth from your culture, which ordinarily improves the worst ground, but succeeds even to wonder when it meets with one qualified and pregnant" (Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus., 28,104, f. 11).

[1] Dr. Adam Clarke, in his *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, 1823, p. 363, even declares that "To Dr. Busby's plans, science, and discipline everything yielded; and no dunce or unlearned man was ever turned out of Westminster School during his incumbency."

[2] Calamy's *Historical Account of my own Life*, 1830, vol. i. p. 77.

[3] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literary History*, vol. iv. p. 406. Severne concludes his epistle with the following quaint postscript—"Lord! how I tremble to send this to you. I see you have me in awe still, and ever will."

gifts."[1] William King refers to "the grave Busby, whose memory to me shall be for ever sacred;"[2] Michael Maittaire to "the most learned Busby, whose kindness to me I never forget;"[3] while Francis Gregory declares that Busby was to him "not only a Master, but even as a Father, and, which is a Relation more rarely found, a real Friend."[4] To the religious training of his pupils Busby was conscientiously attentive, teaching them, as Giles Oldisworth tells us, "not only by precept but by example."[5] Philip Henry also often spoke of the great pains which Busby took in preparing them for the reception of the Holy Communion.[6]

He was indeed a man of great and unaffected piety, taking the warmest interest in the welfare of the Church, and living on terms of intimacy with many of the leading churchmen of the day. Whenever Isaac Basire went to London he always stayed with Busby, who avowed himself to be under great obligations to his friend for his spiritual counsel.[7] Peter Barwick was another of Busby's most intimate friends.[8]

[1] Latin letter written by Atterbury to Busby in October 1681, printed in Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence*, 1783-90, vol. iv. p. 316.

[2] Dedication to Knipe of King's *Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes*, 1710.

[3] *Stephanorum Historia*, 1709, vol. i. part ii. p. 358.

[4] Dedication to Busby of Gregory's *Doctrine of the Glorious Trinity*, etc., 1695.

[5] MS. poem in Bodleian Library, entitled *A Westminster Scholar, or the Patterne of Piete* (Codices Rawlinsonii C. 422).

[6] *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry*, second edition, 1699, pp. 9-10.

[7] Darnell's *Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D.D., with a Memoir of his Life*, 1831, pp. 36, 41 note. Four letters written by Busby are printed in this volume, pp. 37-9, 41-2, 42, 60-2.

[8] See Preface to the *Life of the Rev. John Barwick*, 1724, and Maittaire's epistle towards the end of the Latin preface to *Vita Johannis Barwick, S.T.P.*, 1721.

"I have been told," says Pierce,[1] "of the depth and great variety of his Learning, but that which gained him my reverence was the greater sanctity of his life . . . . for his mastery over his Passions and his diffusiveness of his substance as well as of himself (to all at least who are deserving as well as needy), I have heard few persons commended more." From another source[2] we learn that "there was an agreeable Mixture of Severity and Sweetness in his Manners; so that if his Carriage was grave it was at the same time civil and full of good Nature, as his conversation was always modest and learned. But after all, his Charity was the greatest virtue in him, in the Discharge whereof none ever took more care that his right Hand should not know what the left did."

Of his charity and generosity there can be no question, in spite of Bagshawe's covert insinuations,[3] and William Ashburnham's "odd stories" to the garrulous Pepys.[4] Busby is said to have "offered to found two Catechistical lectures, one in each University,

[1] Thomas Pierce's "Letter to Dr. Heylin concerning Mr. Hickman and Mr. Bagshaw," appended to *The Discoverer Discover'd*, 1659, p. 304.

[2] Crull's *Antiquities of St. Peter's, or the Abbey Church of Westminster*, 1715, p. 242.

[3] See his *True and Perfect Narrative*, etc., 1659.

[4] Pepys records in his Diary for 3rd May, 1667, "To Westminster by coach; the Cofferer [William Ashburnham] telling us odd stories how he was dealt with by the men of the Church at Westminster in taking a lease of them at the King's coming in, and particularly the devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby" (*Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, 1849, vol. iv. p. 35). Busby was Treasurer at the time, and doubtless endeavoured to obtain the best terms that he could for the Chapter. The "Deanes House" and the adjoining premises were demised by the Dean and Chapter to William Ashburnham for the term of 40 years, at the several yearly rents of £13 16*s.* 8*d.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 5*s.* 0*d.*, by two Indentures dated 14th May, 1667.

with an endowment of £100 per annum each, for instructing the Undergraduates in the Rudiments of the Christian Religion; provided all the said Undergraduates should be obliged to attend those lectures, and none of them be admitted to the degree of Batchelors of Arts, till after having been examined by the Catechist, as to their knowledge in the Doctrines and Precepts of Christian Religion, and by him approved of. But this condition being rejected by both Universities, the benefaction was rejected therewith; and the Church hath ever since suffered for the want of it."[1] His benefactions to Christ Church were—"a maintenance for a lecture of the Oriental tongues," which was never completed, and "another of the Mathematics," a gift of £100 "towards the making of a Common Chamber under the west end of the great Hall, and also for the setting up a pew or pulpit there, wherein the said Lectures should be read," and a further gift of £250 to the fund for rebuilding the House at the Restoration.[2] He was a

[1] *Life of the Rev. Humphrey Prideaux*, 1748, p. 92. See also the *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis*, an extract from which is quoted in chapter i.; *Hist. MSS. Com., Twelfth Report*, App. VII., pp. 147, 185, 189; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i. pp. xciv, xcv; Wood's *Life and Times* (Oxford Hist. Soc. Pub., No. xxvi.), vol. iii. pp. 10, 14, 21, 22, 43. Busby, in a letter to Dr. Timothy Halton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, says, "Several years have past since I made a tender to my ever-honor'd Mother, the University of Oxford, of a catechetic lecture to be endowed by me with a salary lately advanced to four-score pounds per annum by a rent-charge upon a great estate." "In this time," he adds, "I have frequently repeated the overture and waited for the acceptance of it." He also announces his intention to make a separate endowment for the English lecture at St. Mary's "of Twenty Pounds per annum secured in the same manner with the Latin," and urges a prompt decision, "age and infirmities making delays very grievous to me" (*ibid.* p. 21, note 2).

[2] Wood's *History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, edited by John Gutch, 1786, vol. iv. pp. 436-7, 448.

liberal benefactor to Wells Cathedral,[1] and is said to have contributed to the repair of Lichfield Cathedral.[2] He presented £50 to Balliol College, Oxford,[3] and a like sum to Bishop Bubwith's almshouse at Wells.[4] He rebuilt the parish church at Willen, in Buckinghamshire, "erected a building for a library within" the said church, endowed the Vicarage with the great tithes, and gave also "several Vestments and all the plate to be used at the Receiving of the Holy Communion there."[5] He gave an annual donation of £5 for the education of ten poor boys of Lutton and Gedney, in Lincolnshire,[6]

[1] According to the *Book of Benefactions to the Cathedral Library*, preserved at Wells, Busby gave the several sums of £100, £20, £2 11*s*., and £200 to the Library, and also £36 for a piece of Communion plate. He moreover presented fifty-six folios to the Library. See also *Hist. MSS. Com., Tenth Report*, App. III. p. 264, where Busby's gifts of £30 to the Church and £100 to the Library are oddly called "legacies."

[2] *Biographia Britannica*, edited by Andrew Kippis, vol. iii. p. 54. The reference there made to Browne Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, does not, however, seem to bear out this statement.

[3] *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis* (Camden Soc. Pub., New Series, vol. xv.), p. 12. From the proceedings in the Chancery suit after his death it appears that Busby was Visitor of Balliol (Lansdowne MSS. 655, f. 37).

[4] *Third Report of the Charity Commissioners* (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1820, vol. iv.), p. 353.

[5] First codicil to Busby's will; Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1763, p. 219; Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, 1847, vol. iv. p. 409. He is said to have erected at a place unnamed, probably Willen, "a convenient Parsonage-House for the Minister and an Alms-House for the Poor" (Francis Gregory's *Doctrine of the Glorious Trinity*, 1695, dedication).

[6] Stukeley says that Busby founded a school at Lutton (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, Cent. I. p. 19), but this seems to be an error. From a copy in the Lutton Register Book of a deed poll executed by Busby on 23rd Feb., 1667, giving minute directions as to the manner in which the £5 is to be spent, he appears to have intended to settle a sum of money for this purpose in perpetuity. This intention, however, was never carried out. Mention of this donation is made in Busby's Account Book, see chapter v.

and commenced the restoration of Lutton Chapel.[1] He frequently sent "considerable supplies to Prisoners for debt," and was constantly relieving "distressed Ministers."[2] The black and white marble pavement in the choir of Westminster Abbey was his gift.[3] He repaired the School buildings at his own expense,[4] and built and fitted up the School library.[5] He built "two roomes the one above the other for the separate lodging of Twenty Boyes" at the King's Hospital in Tothill Fields, and procured a lease from the Dean and Chapter of a piece of Tothill Fields "for the use and benefit" of the governor and boys of the said Hospital.[6] And lastly, by a deed poll dated 9th Jan., 1694-5, he bound himself to found a Catechetical Lecture at Balliol College, Oxford.[7]

Busby left an estate at Willen of the net yearly value of £501, and personal property to the amount of £5,565 5*s.* 6½*d.* In his will, dated 10th July, 1693, he declares that it had been

[1] Fifth codicil to Busby's will.

[2] Francis Gregory's *Doctrine of the Glorious Trinity*, 1695, dedication.

[3] Dean Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, 1882, p. 274.

[4] Bagshawe's *True and Perfect Narrative*, 1659, p. 18; entries in Busby's Account Book, see chapter v.

[5] Third codicil to Busby's will.

[6] The contract for building these rooms, dated 21st May, 1685, and made between Busby of the one part, and John Angier of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Gentleman, of the other part, and a draft copy of the lease, are preserved among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (Press 7, Shelf 1, parcel 52). According to the contract the work was to cost £180. Among the Manuscripts at the British Museum is "an account of more Worke done that is not mentioned in the articles between Dr. Busby and John Angier, nor in the Draught" (Sloane MSS. 1009, f. 144). The "over work more" is there estimated at £34 10*s.* 6*d.*, so that the total cost of the building came to £214 10*s.* 6*d.*

[7] Second codicil to Busby's will.

North-east View of the Old Dormitory in 1758.

"my purpose and resolution ever since the one and thirtieth year of my life to settle such estate as God in His great mercy shall intrust me with upon such charitable uses as may lead to God's glory, and the relief and comfort of good people in necessity." He devised the Manor of Willen, with the advowson and all other his lands and hereditaments in the parish of Willen and elsewhere to thirteen trustees, upon trust to pay the yearly sum of £200 for the relief and support of such poor ministers in Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire, "who have a great work, and small Revenue under the value of fifty pounds a year, and are painful and diligent in the Ministry." He also left the whole of his residuary real and personal estate to his trustees, "to be by them laid out and employed" in the purchase of real estate near Willen, and "by them to be settled to such charitable uses as they in their Godly wisdom shall see meet and convenient." By a codicil to his will, dated 11th July, 1693, Busby directed his trustees to pay the yearly sum of £20 to a Lecturer, who should be a Westminster student of Christ Church, and should deliver thirty lectures "of practical divinity" in one of the parish churches of Oxford. He also bequeathed £1 yearly for the purchase of Bibles and other books, which were to be distributed by the said lecturer to such of the children "as profit most under his instruction." He moreover directed his trustees to pay the Vicar of Willen, who was always to be a Westminster student of Christ Church, £20 per annum for the delivery of thirty lectures in the parish church of Willen, and made a similar bequest of £1 per annum for the purchase of Bibles as prizes for the children. By a second codicil, he directed his trustees to pay the Catechetical

Lecturer at Balliol College, Oxford, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and ordered that all ministers receiving donations under his will should deliver "thirty Catechetical Lectures on thirty Sundays in every year, in the afternoon." By a third codicil he disposed of his books to the School and the parish churches of Willen, Martock, and Cudworth. No charitable bequests are comprised in the fourth codicil. By the fifth and last codicil he bequeathed "fifty pounds of good money amongst poor housekeepers inhabiting within the parish of St. Margaret in Westminster," and directed his executors to complete the restoration of Lutton Chapel "if it should please God that I happen to die before the same be finished."[1]

Probate of the will and the first four codicils was granted in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 19th February, 1697, to the Earl of Nottingham and John Needham, power being reserved to Heneage Finch, Dr. South, and William Thursby, the other executors, to prove the same. The fifth codicil, which had not been executed, was subsequently admitted to probate as a nuncupative codicil.[2]

In order that the trusts of Busby's will might be carried into

[1] The British Museum possesses a manuscript copy of Busby's last will "with the codicils annexed, the decree of the Court of Chancery thereupon, and other matters relating thereto" (Lansdowne MSS. 655). There is a similar copy at the Receiver-General's office in the Little Cloisters.

[2] From the deposition of Busby's old friend, Dr. Peter Barwick, it appears that this codicil had been prepared by Mr. Needham at Busby's request, but before "Mr. Needham and the witnesses could be got together," Busby declared that he was "so faint that he could not then execute it, but said he must defer the doing thereof until the next day, and declared that if he should happen to dye in the meantime it would amount to a Nuncupative will, or used words to the same effect, all which the said Deceased declared in the presence of Sir Thomas Millington and this Deponent his Physitians, and that night within some few hours after he the said deceased departed this life" (Lansdowne MSS. 655, f. 9).

effect, a suit was instituted in the Court of Chancery, in November 1696, by the Attorney-General, at the instance of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford, and the Rev. John Stevenson, Vicar of Willen, against the surviving trustees.[1] Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, and Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., Busby's heir-at-law, an infant, who appeared by his guardian, Sir William Foulis, Bart.[2] On 20th February, 1698-9, the Lord Chancellor made an order, (1) that the purchase by the executors of the manor of Stoke Goldington for £4,400 should be carried out; (2) that the legacies bequeathed by the unexecuted codicil should be paid; (3) that an additional £100 per annum should be paid to the Poor Ministers, and that as the annuities (amounting to the sum of £60) given by the last codicil should determine, they should be "added to the said twenty Poor Ministers;" (4) that £10 per annum be added to the Lecturer of Christ Church, and the sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the Lecturer of Balliol College; (5) that the trustees, if they should think fit, might "allow to a Catechetical Lecturer at Worcester College in Oxon, formerly Gloucester Hall, an annual sum not exceeding £20 per annum, as is allowed to the Lecturer of Balliol College";[3] (6) and that if there should be in any year

[1] Richard Newman was the only trustee who had died.

[2] Sir William Foulis was Sir Thomas Robinson's step-father.

[3] From the Master's Report it appears that Busby within a year of his death had informed Maittaire of his design to settle a Catechetical lecture at Gloucester Hall with the same stipend and subject to the same statutes as the Balliol lecture, "if Dr. Woodroffe, who was principal of the said hall, would accept thereof." From an item in Needham's accounts it is evident that this lecture was commenced in Busby's lifetime. Busby seems also to have announced his intention of founding Mathematical lectureships at Gloucester and Balliol, and of presenting the Cathedral Library of Wells with a further gift of books. (See Lansdowne MSS. 655, ff. 36-7.)

a surplus of the rents of Willen and Stoke Goldington after all the aforesaid payments had been made, then "the same should be distributed to such poor prisoners[1] and poor families in Westminster, and to such poor Ministers, their widdows and children, in such manner and proportion" as the trustees should think fit.[2]

On 8th May, 1811, an order was made by the trustees that "the payment to each lecture be increased to £20 out of the surplus as a gratuity,"[3] thus increasing the amount annually distributed for this purpose to £400.

A new scheme for the future regulation of the "Busby Trust" was approved by the Board of Charity Commissioners for England and Wales on 10th December, 1887. The trust property at that date consisted of some 628 acres in the parish of Willen, 364 acres in the parish of Stoke Goldington, the advowson of the Vicarage of Willen, and the sum of £1316 7*s.* 10*d.* reduced £3 per cent. annuities, while the gross income of the charity amounted to nearly £1100 per annum. Subject to the payment in the first instance

[1] According to a Report on the House of Correction, Tothill Fields, Westminster, comprised in the sixth part of the 32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1840, vol. xix. pt. i. p. 866), coals and blankets to the amount of £20 were annually sent by the Busby trustees to the prison from 1821 to 1835.

[2] From Needham's accounts rendered in this suit, we learn that Busby died possessed of 658 ounces of plate, "valued and sold at five shillings and ninepence the ounce"; that his "studdy of Books" was valued at £466, and his wearing apparel and household goods at £122 10*s.*; that "three weeks' allowance to poor Prisoners to the time of the Doctor's funeral" amounted to £5 14*s.*; that Dr. Barwick received £11 "for attending Dr. Busby in his sickness," and Mr. Pearce, "an apothecary," £1 1*s.* in discharge of his bill; that the expenses of the funeral amounted to £244 4*s.* 4*d.*; and that £12 was paid to "John Tufnel, the mason, for a gravestone" (Lansdowne MSS. 655, ff. 27—29).

[3] *The Ecclesiastical Legal Guide*, 1839, p. 68.

of the cost of repairs and the expenses of management, the yearly income of the Charity is now applied by the trustees in the payment of—

(1) The annual sum of £10 for providing a dinner or dinners for the trustees as prescribed by the will.

(2) The annual sum of £30 to a lecturer, being a member of Christ Church, Oxford, who has been presented to the trustees by the Dean of Christ Church, and is qualified as prescribed in the first codicil.

(3) The annual sum of £20 to the Master and Fellows of Balliol College for the purpose of providing for the maintenance of a yearly theological prize founded pursuant to the scheme established by an Order of the Commissioners of 9th July, 1872, to be awarded to the candidates for the same according to such rules and regulations, and in such manner as the said Master and Fellows shall, with the concurrence of the Visitor of the said college, from time to time prescribe and direct.

(4) The annual sum of £1 to the said Lecturer of Christ Church, to be laid out by him in the purchase of Bibles and such other books as he may think fit for distribution in the manner prescribed by the first codicil.

(5) The annual sum of £1 to the vicar for the time being of the parish of Willen, to be laid out by him in the purchase of Bibles and such other books as he may think fit, to be distributed by him in the manner prescribed by the first codicil.

(6) The annual sum of £40 to the vicar for the time being of the parish of Willen.

(7) An annual sum of not less than £200 in making grants of

not less than £5 nor more than £20 each for the relief and support of such poor ministers of the Church of England as they shall think deserving of the same—who shall be beneficed in one of the counties of Lincoln, Oxford, Middlesex, or Buckingham—who shall have a great work and a small revenue under the value of £200 per annum, and who shall receive from the Bishop of the Diocese in which they shall be beneficed a certificate to the effect that they stand in need of such assistance, and that they are painful and diligent in their ministry and of good life.

Subject to the foregoing payments, the trustees are directed to apply the income of the Charity in making grants of not less than £5 nor more than £20 to or for the benefit of the widows and children of poor clergy of the Church of England who have been beneficed in one of the four counties aforesaid, and of whose need of assistance the trustees shall have satisfied themselves.

The Busby trustees, still thirteen in number, are always "old Westminsters."[1] They meet twice a year for the transaction of business, and dine together in the Jerusalem Chamber after the June meeting.[2]

Busby left several legacies and annuities to his servants, and to

[1] A complete list of the trustees from the foundation of the trust up to the present time is given in Appendix II.

[2] Two notices of these meetings sent to the Duke of Newcastle, and dated respectively 28th April, 1759, and 2nd April, 1763, are preserved amongst the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (32,890 f. 385, 32,948 f. 11). In the one case the trustees are summoned to meet "at the Rev. Dr. Markham's house in Great Dean's Yard near Westminster Abby, at two of the clock on Thursday the 3rd day of May, to dine there, and appoint the lecturers for the year ensuing." In the other the place of meeting and dinner was fixed "at Mr. Merest's House in the little Cloysters near Westminster Abby."

his old scholar Michael Maittaire, who lived with him as an assistant, and subsequently became second master of the School.[1] He appears to have outlived most of his relations. By his first codicil he left an annuity of £30 to Widow Bellare, whom he describes as "a remote relation of mine lately inhabiting in Ireland." In his last codicil he speaks of Sir Thomas Robinson and his sister as "my only near relations now living."[2]

[1] The following draft petition to the Duke of Ormonde, Chancellor of Oxford University, written by Busby on behalf of Maittaire, is preserved amongst the Additional MSS. (28,879 f. 10). "Mr. Michael Metaire came out of France with his father some years ago, by reason of the persecution of the protestants there, and being sent to Westminster Schole by the Bishop of London, was 6 years a king's scholler, and was maintained as well as instructed by Dr. Busby; after that he was matriculated in the university of Oxford, and entred a commoner of Christ Church, where he stayd but two termes, for not having wherewithall, because of the calamity fallen upon his family for sake of their Religion, to maintaine himself longer at the university, he returned to Dr. Busby, and was admitted some time after to be an assistant in the Schole, and having continued so these 3 years, was last terme, by the favour of Dr. South, made a student of Christ Church, having employed his time in the service, and as he hopes to the benefit of the Schole, which is one of the principall nurserys of both universityes, he humbly prayes his losse of Termes may be allowed him, and he admitted to take his Bachelours Degree this terme, doing his exercises for the same. Jan. 1694. This is humbly recommended to his Grace the Duke of Ormonde's favour by Dr. Busby." For further information concerning Maittaire see *Alumni Westmon.* p. 198; *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500—1714, vol. iii. p. 990; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. pp. 556-66; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* vol. xxxv. p. 384.

[2] Sir Thomas Robinson, the grandson of Busby's first cousin, Sir Thomas Robinson, Treasurer of the Inner Temple, was the only son of Sir Lumley Robinson, of Kentwell, Suffolk, by his wife Anne, only surviving child of John Lawrence of Westminster. He was baptized in the Abbey on 14th July, 1681, and succeeded his father as third baronet on 6th June, 1684. He matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 23rd Sept., 1695, aged 14, but does not appear to have taken any degree. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., of Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, and died at Beccles, without issue, on 21st

April, 1743, when the title became extinct. His sister Anne, who was baptized in the Abbey on 5th October, 1682, married Sir Comport Fytche, Bart., of Southhill in Eltham, Kent, and was buried at Eltham on 29th April, 1737. Though there were several children of this marriage, the descendants of Lady Fytche became extinct in the last century. See Chester's *Westminster Abbey Register* (Harl. Soc. Pub., No. x.), pp. 72, 210, 227 ; *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500—1714, vol. iii. p. 1269 ; and *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, iii. 427, iv. 151, 239, viii. 127.

The Seal of the Governors of the Schools and Almshouses of Westminster. Reverse.

CHAPTER III

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE (*continued*)

Busby's publications—His portraits—Busby relics in possession of the School—Letters written to and by Busby—Books dedicated to Busby—Anecdotes of Busby.

BUSBY'S publications are neither very numerous nor important. They consist of grammars and expurgated editions of the classics compiled for the use of the School. Some of the grammars were probably the composition of his ushers and scholars, revised and corrected by himself.[1] Several of these compilations, in a more or less altered form, were in use at Westminster some sixty years ago. Any attempt to compile a bibliography of Busby's books would be futile. He never put his name to a book, and it is impossible to say how far he was responsible for any of the books which have been attributed to him. Wood gives a list of "the things that go under his name, or reported to be his, tho' probably written by some of his ushers."[2] This list has been more or less closely followed by

[1] Philip Henry "was employed by Dr. Busby, as some others of the most ingenious and industrious of his Scholars were, in their reading of the Greek authors, to collect, by his Direction, some Materials for that excellent Greek-Grammer, which the Doctor afterwards publish'd" (*An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry*, second edit. 1699, p. 9).

[2] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 418.

Kippis in the *Biographia Britannica* (vol. iii. p. 54), and by Canon Overton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vol. viii. p. 31). All three lists commence with *A short institution of grammar for the use of Westminster School.* 1647. Camb. 8°, a book which upon examination will be found to contain a dedication to Osbaldiston and Busby, signed by "F. Gregorius"! Hearne, writing on 14th November, 1709. says that Busby, besides a Latin and Greek Grammar, wrote "a small Hebrew Grammar, which after it had been handed about in MSS^{t}.. and continually transcrib'd for the use of the Boys at Westminster Schoole, was printed at y^{e} Theater above a year since in 8vo in 2 sheets and a half or thereabouts. Mr. Gagnier, a French gentleman who lately publish'd *Josephus Ben Gorion*, from the Theater Press, and is now a Teacher of y^{e} Hebrew Language in Oxford, and is esteem'd by able judges to be a compleat Master of it, has publickly affirm'd that he thinks this Epitome to be the best that has yet been made, and that 'tis preferrable both to Buxtorf's and Schickard's. I have been inform'd by one that was lately student of Christ Church, and once a Scholar to Dr. Busby, that he also writ an Arabick Grammar, w^{ch} Language was likewise taught in that schoole, the Dr. having some skill in it. The Dr. was for introducing also some other Languages into his School, on purpose that it might be said y^{t} most, if not all, learned Languages were taught in it, being acted in this affair purely by whim. And I have often heard it said, that tho' he was a truly learned man in Classical Learning, yet he indulg'd strangely to his Fancy, and was extremely whimsical, and that his severe Discipline was chiefly owing to this Temper. After his Latin Grammar came out he was continually altering of it, almost every

hour, and 'twas usual with him to make his scholars get those alterations by heart, tho' they had been masters of his grammar before. When any scholars came from other Schools, tho' they had read over and got by heart Lilly's Grammar several times, yet he would always make them set about his own, and spend time in getting it off intirely. I have also heard some that knew the Dr. very well, say that he was a better judge of other Men's compositions than a good Composer himself, tho' he was certainly a very clear-headed man."[1] Maittaire describes Busby as "vir in Linguæ Græcæ tum cognitione tum institutione omnibus ævi sui ac præteriti forsánque et futuri magistris longe superior."[2] He mentions the fact that Busby would not allow his pupils to use Scapula's *Thesaurus*. Felton tells us that "Dr. Busby strictly forbad the use of Notes, and for our Greek and Latin authors we had nothing but the plain Text in a correct and chaste edition."[3] "Under such a master," he adds, "they could do no Good, there was no need of the Best; and the others might do a great deal of Hurt by infecting the Children at once with their own Blunders and Dulness."

Portraits of Busby are fairly numerous. A reproduction of the well-known portrait of the famous Head-master in a huge wideawake, with a favourite pupil standing by his side, forms the frontispiece

[1] Hearne's *Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc. Pub., No. vii.), vol. ii. pp. 307-8. In another place Hearne refers to Busby's "two Greek Grammars, one in prose and another in verse, the latter suppos'd to be made by his scholars and revis'd by him" (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 302); and again, "Dr. Busby had two volumes of Greek Words, collected out of divers authors, which were not to be found in Stephen's *Thesaurus*" (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 184).

[2] *Stephanorum Historia*, 1709, vol. i. part ii. p. 358.

[3] *Dissertation on reading the Classics and forming a just Style*, 1718, pp. 41-2.

to this volume. This picture, which adorns the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, and is said to have been painted by John Riley,[1] was engraved in mezzotint by J. Watson in 1775. There are also portraits of Busby in the Chapter-house and in the Common Room of Christ Church, and in the Library of the same college there is a bust by Rysbrack.[2] At the School there are three portraits as well as a plaster cast of the Rysbrack bust. There is also a portrait at Willen Vicarage. According to Wood,[3] "Busby never permitted his picture to be drawn. The moment he was dead his friends had a cast in plaster taken from his face, and thence a drawing in crayons, from which White engraved his print,[4] and Bird carved his image."[5] If Wood is correct, the portrait in the hall at Christ Church cannot

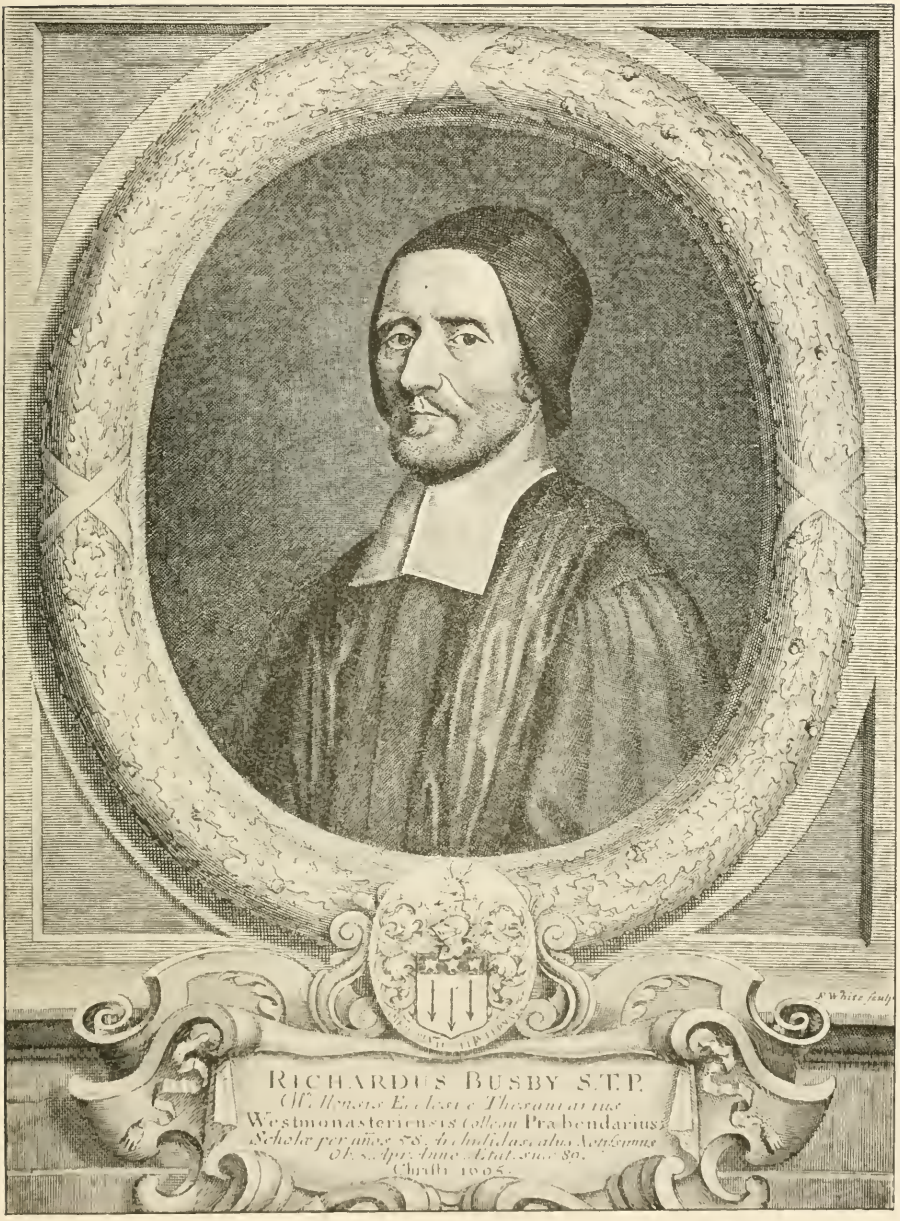
[1] The pupil in the background is popularly supposed to be Philip Henry, but the names of Robert South and Matthew Henry have also been suggested. With reference to this point it should be remembered that Philip Henry was elected to Christ Church in 1647, and that Riley was not born until 1646. In the revised Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1866 (No. 943), the name of the painter is significantly absent.

[2] Wood's *Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, edited by John Gutch, vol. iv. app. pp. 292, 301, 302; *The Colleges of Oxford*, edited by the Rev. Andrew Clark, 1891, p. 311.

[3] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 420.

[4] There is a copy of this print by Robert White in the British Museum without a date. It has been reproduced for this volume. Amongst the items in Needham's accounts, given in the Chancery suit instituted after Busby's death, are "to Mr. Tilson for drawing the Doctor's Picture and Frame £12; to Mr. White for engraving the Doctor's Picture £5 10*s*." (Lansdowne MSS. 655, f. 29). Henry Tilson was educated under Sir Peter Lely, and is described by Luttrell "as an eminent painter in Lincoln's Inn Fields." He shot himself in Nov. 1695, at the age of thirty-six. See Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, iii. p. 555. Other prints of Busby will be found in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literary History*, etc., vol. iv., opp. p. 395, in the *Oxford Almanack for* 1742, and in *Old and New London*, vol. iii. p. 474.

[5] For the monument in Westminster Abbey.


RICHARDUS BUSBY S.T.P.
Westmonasteriensis Prabendarius
Scholæ per annos 58 Archididascalus Nonissimus
Ob. 6 Apr. Anno Ætat. suæ 80.
Christi 1695.

have been painted by Riley, as that artist died in 1691, some four years before Busby.

There are curiously few relics of Busby at the school which he made so famous. The books which he bequeathed by his third codicil,[1] the portraits and bust previously alluded to, a chair in which he is supposed to have sat, one of his account books, the details of which will be given in a subsequent chapter, and a MS. poem of extremely doubtful authenticity, entitled "A Warning to ye Protestant Peers from their best of Friends the Jesuits,"[2] are all that remain.

Among the manuscripts relating to Busby in the British Museum are "A Latin Meditation or Soliloquy, transcribed from a Manuscript of Dr. Busby, composed by him on a Good Friday" (Harl. MSS. 7017, f. 134); Busby's accounts as Treasurer of the Abbey for the year ending on Michaelmas Day, 1664 (*ibid.* 4184); "Grammatica Hebræa in epitomen redacta, in usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis a Richardo Busbeio, S.T.P." (Addit. MSS. 30,171); and two English translations of Busby's "Greek Verse Grammar" (Harl. MSS. 5750, 6528).

A collection of Latin letters, etc. addressed to Busby is preserved amongst the Burney MSS.[3] The Museum also possesses letters

[1] Many of these cannot now be identified, but a few have their covers stamped with the Busby arms and crest.

[2] Bound up with the copy in the School Library of *Academiæ Oxoniensis Gratulatio pro Exoptato Serenissimo Regis Gulielmi ex Hibernia Reditu*, 1690. According to the catalogue, this poem "is said to have been written by Dr. Busby," but no authority is given.

[3] Burney MSS. 520. The names of the writers of the letters and exercises in this volume are Roger Fowke, William Dugard, Richard Duke, Philip Bouquet, David Jones, William Thomas of Leicester, Timothy Redman, Michael Thompson, and Thomas Spark.

written to Busby by Atterbury,[1] Sir William Morice,[2] and Jonathan Dryden.[3] Letters addressed to Busby by Abraham Cowley,[4] James Scudamore, Humphrey Prideaux, Ralph Bathurst, John Dryden,[5] Lady Elizabeth Dryden,[6] Stephen Zalori, Mrs. Dorothy Toore,[7] Richard Old, James Viscount Lanesborough, and Thomas Severne are printed in the fourth volume of Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (pp. 395—406).

The four letters printed in Darnell's *Correspondence of Isaac Basire*,[8] and the letter in Wood's *Life and Times*,[9] are the only letters written by Busby of which there is any knowledge.

A singular number of books were dedicated to Busby. The following list is probably far from exhaustive. 1. Francis Gregory's *Short Institution of Grammar*, 1647. 2. Henry Thurman's *Praxis Grammatica in Decalogum*, 1647. 3. William James's **ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ** *in Lingram Chaldeam*, 1651. 4. Henry Stubbe's *Horæ Subsecivæ*, 1651. 5. John Crosbie's *Catechesis Christianæ Religionis Canonica*, 1661. 6. William Walker's *Treatise of English Particles*, 1663. 7. Edward Wetenhall's *Gifts and Offices in the Public Worship of God*, 1679-76. 8. Thomas Spark's *Zosimi Comitis et Exadvocati Fisci Historiæ novæ, libri sex, nobis illustrati*, 1679. 9. Nathaniel

[1] Addit. MSS. 5144, ff. 48, 50, 52. These two letters and a school exercise are printed in *The Epistolary Correspondence of Francis Atterbury*, 1783-90, vol. iv. pp. 316-27.

[2] Addit. MSS. 28,104, f. 11.

[3] Birch MSS. 4291, f. 191.

[4] Printed also in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1787, p. 847.

[5] *ibid.* pp. 943-4, and in the *Works of John Dryden*, 1821, vol. xviii. pp. 96—100.

[6] Printed also in the *Works of John Dryden*, vol. xviii. p. 97 note.

[7] This letter gives an account of the fire in the Temple, at which Busby's cousin, Sir Thomas Robinson, lost his life on 2nd August, 1684.

[8] See ante, p. 28 note 7.

[9] See ante, p. 30 note 1.

Hanbury's *Horologia scioterica*, etc., 1683. 10. Thomas Spark's *Lucii Cœlii Lactantii Firmiani opera*, 1684. 11. Nathaniel Hanbury's *Supplementum Analyticum ad Æquationes Cartesianas*, 1691. 12. Francis Gregory's *Doctrine of the Glorious Trinity*, 1695.[1]

A few anecdotes of Busby's caustic humour have been preserved out of the many which have perished. Every one knows the familiar story of his apologizing to Charles the Second, whom he was escorting over the school, for keeping on his hat in the royal presence, on the ground that it would never do to let the boys believe there was a greater man in the world than himself.

Once in a large company he sat at table between Mrs. South and Mrs. Sherlock, when the conversation turned upon wives. Busby, being asked his opinion, said that he believed wives in general were good, though, to be sure, there might be a bad one *here* and a bad one *there*.

"Will you permit me, giant, to pass to my seat?" said an Irish baronet to Busby one day in a coffee-house. "Certainly, pigmy," said the Doctor. "Sir," foamed the Irishman, "I alluded to the vastness of your intellect." "And I, sir," quietly replied Busby, "to the size of your own."

The famous Father Petre, who had been educated under Busby at Westminster, met him one day in St. James's Park. Petre accosted

[1] I have been unable to meet with copies of Nos. 3, 4, and 10, and have consequently been unable to verify the dedications in those cases. Three MSS. are also dedicated to Busby, viz. J. Bennet's *Optica Mathematica* (Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 4403, art. 4), and two Latin translations by William James of Bacon's *Reginæ Elizabethæ fœlicitas*, 1652, and Gracian's *Heros Laurentii*, 1654, in the School Library.

his old master, but Busby declared that he could not recognize him in that dress, and Petre had to introduce himself. "But, sir," said Busby, "you were of another faith when you were under me; how dared you change it?" "The Lord had need of me," replied the priest. "The Lord had need of you, sir!" retorted Busby, "why, I have read the Scriptures as much as any man; and I never knew that the Lord had need of anything but once, and then it was an ass."[1]

Busby is said to have been in the habit of saying that his rod was his sieve, and that whoever could not pass through that was no boy for him.[2]

It is related by Hone, that one day during Busby's absence from his study, one of his boys "found some plums in it, and being moved by liquorishness, began to eat some; first, however, he waggishly cried out, 'I publish the banns of matrimony between my mouth

[1] This "pleasant relation of Busby and Father Petre" was told to Abraham de la Pryme in July 1695 (*Diary of Abraham de la Pryme* (Surtees Soc. Pub., No. liv.), p. 60). It is also to be found in *Revolution Politicks: being a Compleat Collection of all the Reports, Lyes, and Stories, which were the Forerunners of the Great Rebellion in* 1688 (1733), part iv. p. 28.

[2] Seward's *Anecdotes*, 1804, vol. ii. p. 150, where Dr. Johnson is given as the authority for this statement. No reference to it can be found in Dr. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Johnson*. According to the amusing but unreliable *Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow*, 1892, vol. i. p. 208, Busby on one occasion had the tables turned on him by an old pupil. "He was once invited, during a residence at Deal, by an old Westminster—who, from being a very idle, well-flogged boy, had, after a course of distinguished service, been named to the command of a fine frigate in the Downs—to visit him on board his ship. The doctor accepted the invitation; and after he had got up the ship's side, the captain piped all hands for punishment, and said to the astonished doctor, 'You d——d old scoundrel, I am delighted to have the opportunity of paying you off at last. Here, boatswain, give him three dozen.'"

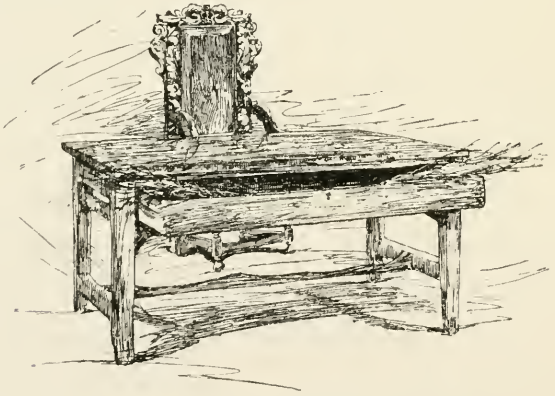
and these plums; if any here present know just cause or impediment why they should not be united, you are to declare it, or hereafter hold your peace,' and then he ate. But the doctor had overheard the proclamation, and said nothing till the next morning, when, causing the boy to be 'brought up,' and disposed for punishment, he grasped the well-known instrument and said, 'I publish the banns of matrimony between this rod and this boy; if any of you know just cause or impediment why they should not be united, you are to declare it.' The boy himself called out, 'I forbid the banns!' 'For what cause?' inquired the doctor. 'Because,' said the boy, 'the parties are not agreed.' The doctor enjoyed the validity of the objection urged by the boy's wit, and the ceremony was not performed."[1]

We may conclude this chapter with an anecdote, from which it would appear that Busby sometimes exercised lictorial powers over others besides his scholars.

One hot afternoon, as Busby was correcting themes in the schoolroom, there was a great noise of juniors playing in Little Dean's Yard. Busby twice sent down the monitor to stop the riot, but as this had no effect he dispatched several big boys with orders to bring up the chief culprits. A lean Frenchman happened to be standing in Dean's Yard, enjoying the view of the Abbey, and smiling at the games of the boys. Him Busby's emissaries seized,

[1] Hone's *Every-day Book*, 1830, vol. ii. p. 35; see also the previous page, on which is given a representation of Busby's chair, "said to have been designed by Sir Peter Lily (*sic*), and presented by that artist to King Charles II." An undated lithograph of this allegorical chair, "from the original by Sir Peter Lely: presented to Dr. Busby by King Charles II.," was published by Godfree Ginger, Bookseller to the School.

and dragged, frantically resisting, up the school-room steps. "Horse him," said Busby quietly, when the young rogues had declared that "this was the man who had made all the noise," and to the unspeakable delight of the whole school the Frenchman was well whipped, and then hustled out. Boiling with rage, he hastened to the nearest coffee-house, and there wrote out a challenge, which he sent to Busby by a street porter. The Doctor had no sooner read the paper than he said, "Fetch me a rod, and horse this man," and the porter was forthwith served like his principal. He returned to the coffee-house with starting eyes to tell what had happened to him, and this time the Frenchman, fairly vanquished, could only exclaim, "C'est un diable."



The old Rod-drawer and Busby's Chair.

CHAPTER IV

BAGSHAWE'S QUARREL WITH BUSBY

Bagshawe's *True and Perfect Narrative*—His appointment as second master—Condemned "to teach the lowest elements of learning"—Accuses Busby of violating the statutes—Busby takes an assistant—Bagshawe's objections—Busby complains to the governors of Bagshawe's behaviour—Bagshawe's defence—His suspension by the governors—His endeavour to make good his title to the place of second master—His resignation—Owen Price's letter to Henry Scobell—Bagshawe's subsequent career.

Edward Bagshawe was the son of Edward Bagshawe the elder, M.P. for Southwark in the Long Parliament. He was educated at Westminster under Busby, and in 1646 was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, where he made himself conspicuous by his insolent conduct towards the authorities of the University. When Bagshawe was "a king's scholar at Westminster he was a little well-favour'd white-haired youth, and his Father was liberal to the Master; all which concurring with a good docible inclination made him one of Mr. Busby's White Boys or Chief Favourites."[1] On Bagshawe telling Walter Pope that Busby had asked him to go to Westminster, Pope, who "very well knew both their Humours, and easily foresaw that 'twas absolutely impossible for those two, as the saying is, to set

[1] Pope's *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, 1697, pp. 37-8.

their Horses together," tried to dissuade Bagshawe from accepting the post.

After his dismissal from Westminster, Bagshawe published an account of his quarrel with Busby in a pamphlet entitled "*A True and Perfect Narrative of the Differences between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshawe, the first and second Masters of Westminster School. Written long since, and now published in answer to the Calumnies of Mr. Pierce,*" London, 1659, 4°. In the preface, which is signed "Edw. Bagshawe," and dated "Christ Church, May 6th, 1659," Bagshawe made a fierce attack upon Thomas Pierce, Rector of Brington, Northamptonshire, afterwards Dean of Salisbury, to whom he attributed the authorship of "Reflexions upon a practicall Discourse lately printed at Oxon."[1] The anonymous writer of these *Reflexions*, one Lawrence Womack, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, while criticizing Bagshawe's *Practicall Discourse concerning God's Decrees*, etc.,[2] was bold enough to state that he could "as little approve the man's Doctrine as justifie his Practice," and then went on to inquire, "Was he not sometime Scholar to Master B. and afterwards his usher at Westminster School? Had he not once a design to supplant His Master, and was outed himself? Are not these sermons calculated, think you, to serve such unworthy ends? Doth he not herein endeavour to set forth God for a President

[1] These *Reflexions* are appended to "Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium, or the Calvinist's Cabinet unlock'd. In an apology for Tilenus, against a pretended Vindication of the Synod of Dort. At the provocation of Master R. Baxter held forth in the Preface to his Grotian Religion. Together with a few soft drops let fall upon the Papers of Master Hickman." London, 1659. 12°.

[2] Oxford, 1659 [12th January, 1658], 4°. In his dedication "to the Honourable my Lord Bradshawe, Lord Chief Justice of Chester," Bagshawe violently assails Pierce for his Arminian tenets.

of such Decrees as he would have others execute? [viz. The Absolute Reprobation of a very deserving Master and the Absolute Election of a most unthankfull Scholar]." Pierce replied to Bagshawe in a "*Letter to the Learned and Reverend Dr. Heylin concerning Mr. Hickman and Mr. Bagshaw.*"[1] He pointed out that "the impiety" of Bagshawe's preface confuted his book, and pertinently asks, "For after so palpable a falsity upon which he begins with Mr. Pierce, what honest man will ever heed him of what he adds of Mr. Busby?" In perusing the following extracts from Bagshawe's pamphlet, which gives us many interesting details concerning the School in the days of the Commonwealth, one word of warning must be given to the reader. He should always bear in mind that "Light and Darkness are not more opposite than Mr. Busby, and Mr. Busby as represented by Mr. Bagshaw and men of worth."[2]

Bagshawe commences his *True and Perfect Narrative* by stating, that he went from Oxford to Westminster in the beginning of 1656, longing "to find out a way" how he might render Busby some acceptable service. "For the effecting of this I found then but too sad an opportunity offered, since, what by the Recess of Mr. Vincent,[3]

[1] Appended to *The Discoverer Discover'd*, etc. By Thomas Peirce, Rector of Brington. London, 1659, 4°. Pp. 261—309.

[2] *The Discoverer Discover'd*, etc., p. 304.

[3] Thomas Vincent was usher of the fourth form when Philip Henry was placed in it in 1643. He became second master in 1645. Pope says that he "was a very honest and learned man, but of mean Parentage, Mr. Busby's servitor at Oxford, and but one remove from it at Westminster" (*Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, 1697, p. 37). He is also said to have been "a most able, diligent schoolmaster, and one who grieved so much at the Dulness and Non-proficiency of any of his Scholars, that falling into a consumption, I have heard Mr. Henry say of him that he even killed himself with false Latin" (*An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry*, 1699, p. 4).

the second Master, and the intended Departure of Mr. Littleton,[1] who had for some time supplied his Room; together with an execrable fact committed lately before by Mr. Busby's nephew, John Busby[2] (for which he was forced, or rather suffered to fly), I found the School so sunk in Learning, and so lost in Reputation, that scarce any one of Learning or Ingenuity would undertake any Imployment in it."

At the election in May 1656, Thomas Vincent expressed his wish to retire on the ground of ill-health, and Bagshawe was nominated to succeed him by Dr. Owen, Dean of Christ Church. On 19th June following Bagshawe was appointed by the governors to officiate temporarily for Vincent, and he was ultimately confirmed in the place of "Usher or Second Master to the School of Westminster," by an order of 4th December, 1657. Soon after his appointment Bagshawe says, "By his many Affronts in Publique, and by his frequent Quarrels in Private, about so petty things that I am ashamed to repeat them, such as the sitting with my Hat on at Church, my slighting of Arabick, my not overvaluing his Greek Grammar, and other Trifles of a much Inferior Nature, Mr.

[1] Adam Littleton was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1644. He succeeded Bagshawe as second master in 1658, a post which he resigned in 1661. In 1670 he received from Charles II. a grant of the reversion of the Head-mastership on the death of Busby, whom he pre-deceased on 30th June, 1694.

[2] John Busby was doubtless the son of Timothy Busby, the Head-master's elder brother. He was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1647, and graduated B.A. 16th December, 1650, M.A. 11th December, 1652. He was expelled from his studentship by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648, "restored 1650, punished 1653, a fugitive from Christ Church 1655" (Barrow's *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford* (Camden Soc. Pub., New Series, No. xxix.), p. 484). He appears to have been an usher at the School. Bagshawe alludes to him again in the pamphlet as "a Worthless and Infamous Person," who "abused the liberty of whipping."

Busby had made me weary of my Place, long before he took an occasion to force me out of it." In July 1657 "Mr. Busby, altogether unknown to me, came from Chiswicke to Westminster," and having called the attention of the governors to the statutes, obtained an order from them "that the School-master ought to have the care and instruction of the Scholars in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Formes, and that the Usher ought to have the care and Instruction of those in the first, second, and third Formes." This appears to have annoyed Bagshawe exceedingly, for he complains bitterly, (1) "I was in all hast, in that hot and sickly season of the year, to be removed unto Westminster from Chiswicke, where I had fixed my Residence for that Summer, and where likewise, upon all Removes of the Colledge, the second Master is by Statute obliged to be. (2) I was not heard to speak for myself, and yet was condemned, like a Worthless Person, to teach the lowest Elements of Learning: a tedious and unpleasant Toyl! from which my Predecessors, by virtue of a long Custome, had been altogether freed. For ever since the famous Mr. Camden's time[1] (who preceded me both in that Place and Priviledge) the second Master taught onely the third and fourth Formes; and for the Instruction of the first and second there was constantly an Usher deputed by the Upper Master. Which Course was found very usefull to the School, and very Convenient for both the Masters, for above sixty years together, till Mr. Busby in that Clancular and Disingenuous manner did seek an alteration. (3) Though Mr. Busby did

[1] William Camden, who received his early education at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's School, was second master of Westminster 1575-93, and Head-master 1593—1610.

pretend thus zealously to urge Statute, yet I found afterwards that he did conceal a very materiall part of it, viz. the Qualifications of the Scholars which were to be in those three lower Forms. For by the Statute none are to be admitted into the School but such as have perfectly learned their Grammar, and can at least write indifferently well. Whereas Admissions have been all Mr. Busby's time so Irregularly made, that now I was obliged to Teach many who could not Write, some that could scarcely Read, and almost all who were yet to begin their Grammar."

Bagshawe then cites several statutes "which, notwithstanding his oath and pretence of Conscience, Mr. Busby still without scruple continues to violate," viz.—

"1. *That the Upper Master is not to Admit Scholars, remove Formes, no, not so much as to give a Play-day by his sole Authority.*

"2. *That the Upper Master is not to have above four Boarders, and those are to Diet in the Colledg-Hall.*

"Whereas Mr. Busby all his time has had between thirty and forty at a time, and they boarded at excessive Rates in his own House.

"3. *That the Upper Master himself is constantly to Diet in the Colledg-Hall, or to lose his Commons.*

"Whereas Mr. Busby is not only alwaies absent, contrary to his Duty, but has gained near upon 80 lb. per ann. for his Diet, which is more by above half than the statute allows.[1]

[1] An order was made by the Dean and Chapter on 14th December, 1640, that "the School-master, the Receiver, and Keeper of the Library shall in lieu of their diet receive yearly from the Treasurer of the College every of them XX marks, to be paid quarterly" (*Extracts from Acts of Chapter*, p. 17).

"4. *That the Upper Master is not to take Admission-Plate of his Boarders, but it is to be given in to the use of the Colledge.*

"Whereas Mr. Busby hath not only received Plate of very great value from his Boarders, but challenges it as his Due."

Bagshawe having resolved to stay at his post, "and see unto what Issue Mr. Busby would drive this his Innovation," submitted without delay to the order. On 9th July he petitioned the governors for leave "to peruse the Colledg-Statutes, not only that I may know what Books I am to Teach, but likewise that I may learn what are those Priviledges which belong to Mr. Busby as Upper Master," and at the same time he begged that "a severe scrutiny may be made into my Life, ever since my coming hither; of which, when your Honours are satisfied, I shall with the more comfort attend that other Employment to which I am now reduced." Bagshawe was thereupon called before the governors, "and having a Public Testimony given me, in the presence of Mr. Busby, that the governors did not intend to reflect upon me in the least manner, I withdrew cheerfully to teach my little Boyes, and so continued all that summer; not omitting in the meanwhile any kind of Respect to Mr. Busby, both by my Letters and frequent Visits, which I hoped might prevaile with him to allay his Fierceness, and so put out that Flame of Contention, which Mr. Busby himself by his indirect dealing had kindled."

"This evenness and seeming Insensibility of my Temper only laid me open," says Bagshawe, "to New Projects . . . his next Plot was to make his Minion and Usher Mr. James[1] step over me." On 29th

[1] William James, "being extraordinary rath-ripe and of prodigious memory, was entred into his accedence at five years of age" (Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 634). At Westminster he made "marvellous proficiency under Mr. Busby, his most loving master" (*ibid.*), and in 1650 was elected head to Christ Church, Oxford. He

October, 1657, Busby "presently after his Return from Chiswicke (which he unseasonably hasted for that very purpose, the Schoole not being then fit to receive the Scholars), came to the Governours, and moved for leave to take an Assistant, pleading *Old Age, and that he wanted a Crutch*, with other arguments remote enough from his True design: But insisting principally upon a Verball Concession made to that purpose at the Election, 1656, when as then the alteration of the Formes was not so much as intended." The governors made no objection to Busby's proposal, though they allowed Bagshawe to appear before them and give his reasons against it. At the next meeting of the governors, on 12th November following, Bagshawe presented a "paper" containing his objections to the appointment of an assistant master, in which he urged that the "Statute is entended for our Rule throughout, in which I do not find the least mention of an Assistant; neither indeed could it be there entended, because the Statute expressly limits the Number of Scholars to 120; for this very reason, that the Masters might not be burdened. So that if either of them do burden themselves, when they need not, it is but equall that they should bear their own Burden: and for Mr. Busby first to take so Unstatutable a Number, as to have 170 under his own Care, and then to desire one to Ease and Assist him, because he is overburdened; this seems to signifie onely that Mr. Busby hath a mind to make use of your Honours' Authority, to Privilege himself in his Breach of Statute; and so Abuse your Indulgence unto a Patronage of his sinne."

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graduated B.A. on 2nd Feb., 1653-4, M.A. on 30th June, 1656. In 1661 he succeeded Littleton as second master. He died on 3rd July, 1663, "to the great reluctancy of all who knew his admirable parts" (*ibid.*), and was buried in the Abbey.

In spite of Bagshawe's strenuous efforts, the governors resolved that the former order concerning an assistant master should be confirmed. On 13th November, the day after the order was made, Busby "brought Mr. James into the School, and there with a great deale of Ceremony placed him above me, employing him for the most part to teach the fourth Forme, from which I was so lately removed. Which Indignity," says the sensitive Bagshawe, "was so much the greater, in that Mr. James was not only some otherwayes Inferiour to me, but likewise many years my Juniour in the University, and before that Change, Usher below me in the School." He accordingly presented a petition to the governors for redress, but the governors, "after a Dispute of at least five or six Houres," came to the conclusion that no notice should be taken of it. Whereupon Bagshawe entreated the governors as his "last request," to make a searching inquiry into his conduct since he had been at the School, for "I think," he modestly remarks, "I have lived with that Integrity and Innocence, as your Honours will rather look upon me with a Favourable Eye, for quiet suffering so much, than think I have been tenderly used, in that I suffer no more."

Meanwhile Busby presented to the governors a petition to the following effect—

"That the School hath flourished these 19 yeares, your Petitioner being Master. That your Honours were pleased to make your order for your Petitioner's having an Assistant to him at his own Charge, for his better Government of the Scholars, Absolute. Yet so it is that Mr. Edw. Bagshawe exercising the place of a Teacher in that School (whether as Second Master, Under Master, or Usher, or how he is stiled in his Pattent, or whether he

have a Pattent, your Petitioner knows not), doth express great Discontent against the said Order for an Assistant, and therefore hath commanded his Scholars not to pay that Accustomed Civility, which is due from Scholars unto their Teacher, to the Assistant at his passing by them; and punished some of his Scholars for so doing. Whereupon so great disorder ensued, that the Respect was thereupon omitted to your Petitioner, which had been these 19 years due to him.

"Mr. Bagshawe likewise did command the Monitour to put your Petitioner into his Monitour's Bill, and to shew that Bill unto him; thereby exposing your Petitioner to be endited by his own Monitour, and pretending to a Power of Punishing your Petitioner.

"Mr. Bagshawe did likewise send a Monitour unto the Assistant, to bid him hold his Peace.

"Mr. Bagshawe doth likewise refuse to teach poor Scholars, and hath turned out one for being Poor. The power of putting in, and turning out, being under your Honours, solely in your Petitioner. Mr. Bagshawe doth likewise frequently take the Scholars from the School, to teach them in his Chamber, which may occasion many Ill consequences.

"Your Petitioner, therefore, as in all duty bound, doth entreat your Honours to prevent the Disorder and ruine of the School.

"Signed. R. BUSBY.

"*Novemb.* 26."

Bagshawe's answer, according to his own account, "much satisfied many of the Governours; and they presently did seem to conclude Mr. Busby's Charge not onely False but Frivolous." "Yet for Form's sake," he adds, "those articles were examined three days

College Hall.

together, and all the Boyes were brought in, as in an Enterlude, to hear what they could say either for or against their Masters; although with this difference, that my Scholars, though I was the party prosecuted, stook close to me, and Mr. Busby's could not by any menaces be forced to say much against me."

In his attempt, when the examination had concluded, to give a satisfactory explanation of his conduct, Bagshawe practically admitted the truth of the first three charges brought against him. In the course of his speech he referred to the first clause in Busby's petition, where it is stated that the assistant was to be maintained at the Head-master's own charge. "This," said Bagshawe, "hath been much insisted on, as if it were not injurious to any, but rather Meritorious in Mr. Busby to keep an Assistant, he offering so liberally to maintaine him, without putting either the Colledge or your Honours unto any Charge. I shall endeavour with all Modesty to take off this Disguise; for if Mr. Busby would indeed content himself with his Statutable Number of 60 Schollars, and keep an Assistant, I should then think that either the Good of the School, or a Desire of ease may be the Motive; but if Mr. Busby take in as many Supernumeraries as he pleaseth, and thereby swell the Number, as sometimes it is, to 200 in those four upper Formes; I hope then your Honours will conclude, that for Mr. Busby to keep an Assistant at a Pension of £40 per Ann. will be much for his Ease, but more for his Profit. Indeed so very much, that the very purchase of it is worth twice as much as the Repairs of the School have cost Mr. Busby: from the Credit of which Action perhaps it is, that Mr. Busby doth thus presume upon your Honours' Favour."

With regard to the insinuation that he "strangely delighted in

Whipping," which he maintained was conveyed in the second charge, Bagshawe declared that "none ever used that part of their Authority with greater Moderation than myself: in so much that Mr. Busby, who now accuses me, hath often complained to me, and seemed to take it ill, that I did not use the Rod enough."

"I could wish," Bagshawe adds, "there were some order taken to limit and restrein the exorbitance of Punishment: that poor little Boys may not receive 30, or 40, nay sometimes 60 lashes at a time for small and inconsiderable faults: I do not say that this either now is or heretofore hath been too Inhumanely practised; but I do say that it well becomes your Honours' Charity for ever to Prevent it. For my own part, whether it proceeds out of my Naturall Remissness, or out of a sense of the Indignity, that such kind of Punishment is neither fit for me to inflict, nor for my Scholars to suffer; I could heartily wish that there were an Assistant in Whipping rather than in Teaching; it would be well if the two *Consuls* here had their *Lictors*, that so we might not be both Judges of the Fault, and Executioners of the Sentence, for fear Passion. or something worse, do exasperate the Penalty. Truly, I have seen, I forget myself, I have heard, I mean, so sad examples of Cruelty in this kind, that I beleeve I could make your Honours weep at the report of them. To instance no body else, within these few years, there was a Worthless and an Infamous Person taught here, Mr. Busby's Nephew, John Busby by Name; who did abuse the Liberty of Whipping to such an Excess and Extravagance of severity, that I do grieve for the Practise, but I blush to think of the Cause of it: and I do, in behalf of the School, much wonder

that the thing being so Notorious, was neither complained of, nor thought fit to be reformed. I do humbly desire that for the future, this Barbarous Licence may for ever be abolished, for it were better the School should perish than such an Execrable use of Whipping should again be made."

To the fourth charge he declared, "I can speak it with a cleare Conscience that none ever had a greater care of all his Scholars indifferently whether poor or rich than myself; and therefore hope your Honours will please to Repaire me against Mr. Busby, since he doth not feare not only to accuse me of so Great a Crime, but likewise endeavours so slenderly to prove it by the Testimony only of one Youth, who ran away from School long since without my Knowledg, and, by severall witnesses hath been proved to have been long before my time, a Notorious Truant." "To give a more full answer," Bagshawe adds, "I say that I do and alwaies did think that the Scholars of the Foundation ought to be Taught for Nothing; It may perhaps become your Honours' care to enquire how they have been dealt with as to that particular. And if the Burthen be found too great, I do humbly desire that I may alwaies have the one half of them under me; that I may manifest how willing I am to performe that part of my Duty; and how free I am from the least Imputations of Covetousness."

To the fifth charge Bagshawe's reply was, "that the School being new built was so Raw,[1] and the Weather so extreamly Cold, that

[1] Bagshawe probably refers here to the repairs made by Busby to which he has previously alluded. The Great School-room had been occupied by the boys for more than half a century. On 7th May, 1599, it was "decreed by Mr. Dean and the Prebendaries present that the now School House is too low and too little to receive the number of Scholars, that the old Dorter of late years being to be made

I did provide a Fire for my Scholars in an Out-room, and taught them there for an houre only in the Morning; which if it be a Crime, then Compassion, Care, and Charity are Criminall; and I am glad that I am proved Guilty of them."

According to Bagshawe's statement, "the Governors were either so farre satisfied, or, at least, so far convinced that Mr. Busby's articles were Impertinent, as they wholly waved them; and yet being willing some way to Gratifie Mr. Busby, they resolved however to remove me." After a long debate, which lasted some six or seven hours, it was resolved that "Mr. Edward Bagshawe have time given him untill the Next Election, to make good his Title unto the Under Master's place, and in the mean while to be suspended from the School and Chambers."

The objection taken to Bagshawe's title as Second or Under Master seems to have been that he had no patent, and that his appointment had not been confirmed by the governors at the time of his election by Dr. Owen. Bagshawe immediately laid his case before Sergeant Maynard, William Conyars, and George Beire, all of whom pronounced his appointment good and his suspension illegal.[1] Acting upon "the authority and advice of those Able Persons," Bagshawe continued in the School after the order of suspension. "That which followed," he writes, "notwithstanding the clearness of my Title, concerning Mr. Busby's commanding his Scholars, in an Insolent and Ignominious manner, to thrust me out of the School;

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a larger School shall be with all convenient speed turned to the good use for the benefit of the Scholars by such charitable contributions as shall be gathered for the finishing thereof" (*Extracts from Acts of Chapter*, p. 10).

[1] The case, proofs, and opinions of counsel are all set out in full in the tract, pp. 24-8.

his Deputing an *undergraduate* of *Cambridg* to supply my place; and at last his procuring my staircase to be cut down, thereby to hinder my access unto my Chamber: These beside the Injustice of them, were Abuses of that, Vile and Unmanly Nature, that as I cannot think of them without blushing, so I should not mention them, but that I would mind myself how much cause I have to bless God with enduing me with so extraordinary a measure of Patience, as did enable me cheerfully to undergo the weight of so much Publick Reproach and Ignominy."

When the order of Suspension had expired, Bagshawe appeared before the governors to make good his title, which he did "by delivering the substance of what is before related; and did yet further confirm it by many Parallel cases which were suggested to me by Counsell." At last, however, "perceiving that no arguments would prevail, there being still an Intention to keep me out of Possession; and finding likewise that my attendance, sometimes eight or ten hours together, did much empair my Health, and threatned me with a Relapse into a Feaver, from which I was but then newly recovered; and hearing likewise from the *Governours'* own Testimony concerning me, that I had done enough, as to them, both to clear and Secure my Reputation, which was the principall thing I cared there to preserve; therefore on May 16, 1658, I took my leave of the Governours, and of the Controversie in a concluding speech."

In this speech Bagshawe maintained the justice of his cause, but offered by the advice of his counsel—

"1. That the Counsel on both sides may agree upon the stating of a case between Mr. Busby and myself; which shall forthwith be

presented to the Judges, or to any two of them, and their Decision shall, as to me, be absolutely submitted to. Or else

"2. That I may have leave to bring my action of the Case against Mr. Busby; wherein by mutuall consent we will agree to cut off all Forms of Pleading, and onely proceed to that special matter which concerns my Title: in order to which, because I much long for a speedy Issue, I will forthwith withdraw my Action of Battery which I have already commenced against Mr. Busby, and is now ready for a Triall."

"I stand already suspended," he went on to say, "and for ought I know am to be expelled. The Reason pretended is, my want of Title, but your Honours know very well, that was not all the *Cause:* since I might to this Day have quietly enjoyed my Place, if I would have submitted to Mr. Busby's Arbitrary and Unstatutable Impositions."

After declaring that "this and nothing else was the True Ground of our Difference," Bagshawe concluded by assuring the governors that if he was "so Unhappy as to be conceived an obstacle" unto their good intentions concerning "the Reformation of the Colledge, and Prosperity of this Place," "or if, while I am here, you will not please to redress those abuses, which yet you had never known had not I discovered them, then—the Reverend and Worthy the Dean of *Ch. Church* doth fully understand my Purpose, into whose hands I do give up the Entire Disposing of that Place, which I received from him: and humbly entreat him onely to Consult the Good and Convenience of the School, though I be made a Sacrifice." Upon this Bagshawe retired, and Owen, "after a violent and Earnest Contention on my behalf many daies together, in which he was

seconded only by my Lord Bradshaw, Mr. Browne, and Dr. Stephens, on the Governours' Part; and only by Mr. Cole his assistant on the Electioners',—he did at last declare that I for peace sake was willing to resign my Place, and so proceeded to the Nomination of another." A few days after Bagshawe's resignation, "the Governours thought fit to revoke their order of an Assistant to Mr. Busby as Unstatutable; the Desiring of which at first, was the Occasion of this Unhappy Controversie; and all those Priviledges which by the Statute belong to the Second Master, and in the Claime of which I miscarried, have been since by the Governours Voluntarily Conferred on Mr. Littleton, my Learned and Worthy Successor."

From the following letter[1] it would appear that Owen Price, Master of Magdalen College School, aspired to the post vacated by Bagshawe.

"*June* 21, 1658. *Oxon., Magd. Coll.*

"Dear and Honoured Sir,

"I cannot but be troubled att the slownes of the governors in putting a period to my buisnes, which you were pleased (when I took my leave of you) to look upon as done. And, being the report of it is spread in this countrey, that is, has disswaded several persons from sending their children to me upon the ensuing quarter of Midsummer (to say nothing of many other inconveniences), I fear I shall suffer by it very much if it does not succeed. In the judgment of all those wise Christians, both here and among you, whom I have advised with, there appears very much of God in this unexpected providence of bringing me to the

[1] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, p. 502.

place, but there appears more of the divell in keeping me out of it; in that he is so arowsed as to incense all his agents, both here and at Westminster, to sett all their witts on worke to conspire against me.

"What the remora is, I would gladly knowe. For, if my parts and qualification for the place be called in question, let any scholars in Oxon be appointed to make a tryall of my boyes here; or I will wayt upon the governors to the school at Westminster, and they shall hear me teach.

"But whatever they have to object, I doubt not but I shall satisfye them that I am *par negocio*, if they will be so uncivill as to call my abilitie in question, who can produce of my scholars, during these eight years that I have bin schoolmaster (through grace) more godley men and preachers (some whereof have passed the approvers) than some (that keepe greater noise than I do) have with their xx years labour.

"But the Lord that teaches to profitt gives the increase. If he will so vindicate his own name and interest, as to put it into your heart to make choice of me, I shall labour, in his strength and fear, to be faythfull. If not, I shall trouble you no more; but rest

"Yours in the firmest bonds,

"Owen Price."

"For the right worshipful Henry Scobell, Esq.; secretary to his highnes his Councill in Whitehall, these.

"*Considerations to be proposed to the honourable the governors of the free school att Westminster.*

"1. That whereas the second schoolmaster of that school was wont to teach the third and fourth formes (as it hath bin a constant custome for about sixty years), and that now, upon the occasion of a late quarrel, this method is disordered by taking up the third

schoolmaster into the upper school, and by casting down the second to teach the three lowest formes. It is desired that the school may be reduced to its former order, and that the second schoolmaster may have the full benefit of those boys whom he teaches for himself.

"2. That there be no restraint upon him to be constant with the gown boyes at bed and boord; but that sometime he may visite his familie, it being in the neighbourhood. For one Mr. Harding (who was the second schoolmaster, and a married man,) had his abode in his own family; the statutes not requiring that the second should be more constant with them than the head schoolmaster.

"3. It is desired that the schoolmasters should pray in English in their turns, not using the same form. And that he that prays should call one of the boyes to read a chapter in the English Bible. And that all the boyes should give an accompt of the chapter read, as the master is pleased to ask."

Bagshawe returned to Christ Church, and soon afterwards took a prominent part in an agitation in the University for the abolition of hoods and caps, which were described by the godly party as "Reliques of Popery and Rags of the Scarlet Whore."[1] He was subsequently ordained by Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and became Vicar of Ambrosden in Oxfordshire. After the Restoration he was appointed Chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey. He was ejected from his vicarage in 1662, and in December of that year was thrown into prison for abusing the Government. On his release Wood tells us that he "fell to the old trade of conventicling and raising sedition." For refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy he was again committed to prison. He died in Tothill Street, Westminster, on 28th December, 1671, and was buried in

[1] Pope's *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, p. 35.

Bunhill Fields, "being then accompanied to that place by near a thousand of protestant dissenters."[1]

[1] For further information concerning Bagshawe's career see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. pp. 944-50; Pope's *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, pp. 36—40; *Alumni Westmon.*, pp. 125-6; and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. ii. pp. 402-3.

Great Dean's Yard.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL LIFE AT WESTMINSTER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The daily routine of a Westminster boy—The attack upon the Abbey—Philip Henry's Diary—Ralph Montagu's illness—Evelyn's visit to the School at election time—William Taswell's Diary—"Jack Presbyter" burnt—The Declaration of Indulgence read in the Abbey—Francis Lynn's Diary—Colin Campbell's experiences—Some practical jokes—The story of the School curtain.

THE following account of the daily routine of a Westminster school-boy in the second decade of the seventeenth century is preserved amongst the State Papers in the Public Record Office.[1] The boy's name is unknown, but the transcript is said to be in the handwriting of Archbishop Laud, who was a Prebendary of Westminster from 1621 to 1628.

"This course was in my time taken by the Schoolm^r of Westm: spec: for those of the 6th and 7th formes wherein I spent my time there.

"About a q^r of an houre after 5 in the morning we were called up by one of the Monitors of the chamber (with a *surgite*), and aft^r Lat. prayers we went into the cloyst^rs to wash,[2] and thence

[1] *Domestic Papers: Charles I.*, vol. clxxxi. no. 37.

[2] These ablutions probably took place in the centre of the Little Cloisters. The old lavatory of the Monks in the Great Cloisters was bricked up soon after the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

in order two by two to the schoole, where we were to be by 6 of the clock at the furthest.

"Between 6 and 8 we repeated our grammar p^ts (out of Lilie for Lat., out of Cambden for the Greek),[1] 14 or 15 being selected and called out to stand in a semi-circle before the M^r and other scholars, and there repeated 4 or 5 leaves in either, the M^r appointing who should beginne, and who should goe on with such and such rules. After this we had 2 exercises that varied everie other morn^g: the first morning we made verses extempore lat. and g^r, upon 2 or 3 severall theames, and they that made the best 2 or 3 of them had some monie given them by the schoolm^r for the most parte.[2]

"The 2^d morn^g one of the 7^th forme was called out to expound some parte of a Latin or g^r author, Cicero, Livie, Isocr: Hom^r,

[1] William Lily was the first high master of St. Paul's School. His *Latin Grammar* was founded on "Joannes Coleti Theologi olim Decani Divi Pauli aeditio una cum quibusdam G. Lilii Grammatices rudimentis," the dedication of which is dated 1st August, 1509. Lily received much assistance from Erasmus in revising the first draft of his work. In consequence of a proclamation enjoining the use of this book by Edward VI. in 1548, it received the name of *King Edward the Sixth's Latin Grammar*. It was also known as the *Eton Latin Grammar*. Camden published his *Institutio Græcæ Grammatices Compendiaria* for the use of Westminster School in 1597. It was based on Grant's *Græcæ Linguæ Spicilegium in Scholæ Westmonasteriensis Progymnasmata divulgatum*, 1575, and became afterwards known as the *Eton Greek Grammar*.

[2] Cowper alludes in his *Table Talk* (lines 507—511) to this mode of reward being still prevalent at the School in his day—

> "At Westminster, where little poets strive
> To set a distich upon six and five,
> Where discipline helps opening buds of sense,
> And makes his pupils proud with silver pence,
> I was a poet too."

Apolli: Xenoph: &c. they of the 2 next formes were called to give an account of it, some other parte of the day, or else they were all of them (or such as were picked out, of whom the M^r made choice by the feare or confidence discovered in their lookes) to repeat and pronounce distinctlie w'thout booke some piece of an author that had been learnt the day before.

"From 8 to 9 we had time for beav^r.[1] and recollection of ourselves and preparation for future exercises.

"Betwixt 9 and 11 those exercises were reade which had been enjoyned us overnight (one day in prose, the next day in verse); which were selected by the M^r; some to be examined and punished, others to be commended and proposed to imitation; wch being done we had the practise of Dictamina, one of the 5^th forme being called out to translate some sentences of an unexpected author (extempore) into good Latin, and then one of the 6^th or 7^th forme to translate the same (extempore also) into good greeke; then the M^r himself expounded some parte of a Lat. or Gr. author (one day in prose, another in verse) wherein we were to be practised that afternoon.

"At dinner and supper times we reade some portion of the Lat.

[1] Beaver, or bever, a name given to any refreshment taken between the regular meals. Derived from the old French word *beivre* now *boire*, and originally meaning "drink," or a "time of drinking." By an order of the Dean and Chapter of 3rd December, 1601, it was declared unlawful "for any one to sell or to alienate to any out of his own household the Abbey allowance called Bevers" (*Extracts from Acts of Chapter*, p. 10). There is a curious passage in Samuel Ward's *Life of Faith*, 1622, pp. 54-5, in which this word is used. "Why," asks he, "should not thy soule have her due drinkes, breakfastes, meales, undermeales, bevers, and aftermeales as well as thy body?" See also Murray's *New English Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 837; and *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, viii. 270; 7th Series, ii. 306, 454, 514; iii. 18.

in a manuscript (to facilitate the reading of such hands). And the prebendaries then hav^s their table commonlie set in the Hall, some of them had oftentimes good remembrances sent unto them from hence and withall a theame to make or speak some extempore verses upon.

"Betwixt one to 3, that lesson which, out of some author appointed for that day, had been by the M^r expounded unto them (out of Cicero, Virgil, Hom^r, Eurip; Isoc; Livie, Sallust &c.) was to be exactlie gone through by construing and other grammatical waies, examining all the rhetoricall figures and translating it out of verse into prose, or out of prose into verse; out of g^r into lat: or out of lat. into G^r. Then they were enjoyned to commit that to memorie against y^e next morn^g.

"Betwixt 3 and 4 they had a little respite, the M^r walking out and they (in beav^r times) going in order to the Hall, and there fitting themselves for theyr next taske.

"Betwixt 4 and 5 they repeated a leafe or two out of some booke of Rhetoricall figures, or choice proverbs and sentences collected by the M^r for that use. After that they were practised in translating some Dictamina out of Lat. or G^r and sometimes turning Lat. and G^r verse into English verse. Then a theame was given to them whereon to make prose and verses Lat. and G^r against the next morning. After supper (in summer time) they were called to the M^rs Chamber (spec. those of the 7^th forme) and there instructed out of Hunter's *Cosmographie*, and practised to describe, and find out cities and counties in the mappes.

"Upon Sundayes, before morn^g prayers (in summer) they were commonlie in the schoole (such as were King's scholers) and there

construed some parte of the Gospell in g^r. or repeated part of the Gr. catechisme; for the afternoone they made verses upon the preacher's sermon, or epist. & gospell. The best scholars in the 7^th forme were appointed as Tutors to reade and expound places of Hom^r, Virg., Hor., Eurip., or other g^r. and lat. authors; at those times (in the forenoone or aft^rnoone or aft^r. beaver times) wherein the scholers were in the schoole, in expectation of the M^r.

"The scholers were governed by several Monitores (2 for the Hall, as manie for the Church, the Schoole, the Fields, the Cloister; which last attended them to washing, and were called Monitores immundorii). The Captaine of the Schoole was over all these and therefore called Monitor monitorum.

"These Monitors kept them strictly to the speaking of Latine in theyr several commands; and withall they presented their complaints or accusations (as we called them) everie friday morn: when the punishments were often redeemed by exercises or favours shewed to Boyes of extraord. merite, who had the honor (by the Monitor monitorum) manie times to begge and prevail for such remissions. And so (at other times) other faultes were often punished by scholastic taskes, as repeating whole orations out of Tullie, Isoc; Demosth: or speaches out of Virgil, Thucyd., Xenoph: Eurip: &c.

"Upon Play dayes (within an houre after leave granted and the Oppidales dismissed) the scholers of the house were often called in againe for an houre or more till they had brieflie dispatched the taske of that day.

"There was a writing in capital letters within the schoole towards the upper part of the wall which the M^r. was wont to

show to strangers as a testimonial how he was restrained for leave to play.

"When Plumpe-Walkers[1] came in (*i. e.* such as strived to hold M^r^ in long discourses), the M^r^ would call out some of his scholers to show what verses they could make on a sodaine upon a theame to be given by them, if they were scholers.

"Everie friday they had repetitions of what was learned the former parte of the weeke.

"Upon Saturdayes they pronounced their Declamations in g^r^ and lat., and the Preb. did often come in and give encouragement unto them.

"All that were chosen away by Elect^n^ took their leave in a pub. Orat. to the Deane, Preb: M^r^, Ush: Scholers made in the Schoole."

In December 1642 the King's Scholars assisted in the successful defence of the Abbey against the attack of the Apprentices. During the tumult "an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand from the leads or battlements of the Church, which so bruised Sir Richard Wiseman (conductor of the Apprentices) that he died thereof, and so," says Fuller, "ended that dayes distemper."[2]

Philip Henry, the famous Nonconformist divine, who was one of Busby's favourite pupils, has left the following interesting record of his experiences at the School[3]:—

[1] A "plump" is a close body, or party of men. It is suggested by Mr. W. L. Collins in his *Public Schools*, 1867, p. 94, that the term here used might mean such as walked the streets in knots or parties—the idle loungers of the day.

[2] *Church History of Britain*, 1655, Book xi. pp. 185-6.

[3] *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry*, edited by the Rev. Matthew Henry Lee, 1882, pp. 9—11. It may interest old Queen's Scholars to know that Philip Henry, in a letter to his son Matthew, dated May $\frac{11}{13}$, [16]86, refers to the old

"Thence to Westminster in the year 1643, where I was admitted in the 4th Form, under Mr Tho. Vincent, who was usher there, the most able diligent School-Master that I ever knew; a while after I was taken to the upper-school under Mr. Richard Busby.

"There was at that time and before a daily morning lecture[1] at the Abbey betw. 7 & 8 a clock carry'd on by 7 worthy Ministers in course, Mr. Marschal, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Herl, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Nye, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Hil; I was their constant hearer, at the request of my dear Mother to the Master who dispens'd with my absence from school that while, and wrote their sermons as wel as I could. Shee took mee also with her every Thursday to Mr. Tho. Case[2] his lecture at St. Martin's Church, and every monthly Fast to St. Margt's Westr. which was our Parish church where preacht the ablest men of Engld before the then H. of Commons.

"One remarkable deliverance I remember while I was at Westmr School, which was this, lying in the Common-chamber there wee had a custom for one or two or more to sit up ye former pt of the

custom of writing up the word "Electio" on the dormitory door. "Wee shal begin shortly," he writes, "to doe as the lads at Westmr were w'ont to doe, and it may be doe stil, by the word Electio" (*ibid.* p. 353).

[1] It was ordered by the House of Commons on 28th Feb., 1643-4, "That in the Place of the Service, read every Day in the Abbey of Westminster, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Hearle, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Nie, Mr. Whitacre, and Mr. Hill be desired to keep an exercise for half an hour every Morning, to end at Eight of the clock" (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iii. p. 410).

[2] Thomas Case was also lecturer at St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where Edmund Calamy was Rector. They are both commemorated in Butler's *Hudibras* (Part III. Canto 2)

"Whence had they all their gifts and graces,
But from our Calamies and Cases?"

night at study, and at 11 or 12 a clock to goe to bed and call others, and they others at 2 or 3, as they were desir'd. My desire was to bee cal'd at 12, and I was so, and being awak'd I desir'd my candle might bee lighted, and I would rise presently, but having stuck the candle to the Beds-head I lay down again and fell asleep, and the candle fel and burnt part of ye bed and bolster ere I awaked, but then having help wee soon quench'd it and I received no harm. The usual severityes of the school I had but smal share of. Once, being Monitor of the Chamber, and being sent forth to seek one that play'd truant ('twas Nath. Bul,[1] afterwards a Master of Paul's school) I found him out where hee had hid hims. and at his earnest request promised I would say I could not find him, which I wickedly did; the next morning being examin'd by Mr. Busby, where hee was and whether hee saw mee, hee sayd, yes, hee did, at which I wel remember, Mr. Busby turn'd his eye towards mee and sayd *καί συ τέκνον*, and whipt mee, which was the only time I felt the weight of his hand, and I deserv'd it. Hee appointed me also a Penitential copy of Latin verses w^{ch} I made and brought him, and then hee gave mee sixpence and received mee again into his Favor. April 14th (or yer. abouts) 1647. The Lord was graciously pleased to bring me home effectually to himself by y^{e} meanes of my Schoolemaster, Mr. Richard Busby at the time of y^{e} solemne preparation for y^{e} Communion then observ'd. The Lord recompense it a

[1] Nathaniel Bull was elected from Westminster to Christ Church in 1648. He graduated B.A. 24th Feb., 1651-2, M.A. 7th July, 1654, and became Surmaster at St. Paul's School in 1658. In 1667 he was appointed Master of Leicester Grammar School. A testimonial to his scholarship and other merits signed by Busby and the Bishop of Rochester is preserved amongst the muniments of the Corporation of Leicester (*Hist. Manuscript Commission, Eighth Report*, app. i. p. 439).

thousand fold into his bosome.[1] I hope I shal never forget. There had been Treatyes before between my soul and Jesus, with some overtures towards him, but then, then I think it was that the match was made.

"In May that year, I was chosen to Oxford with 4 others, John Busby, nephew to Mr. Busby, John Vincent,[2] brother to Mr. Vincent 2d usher, John Carrick, and George Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia, Brother to him who was afterwards Earl of Anglesey, and Lord Privy Seal. Of these I had the second place. Five more were chosen at the same time to Cambridge, Palmer, Wickham, Stone, Stacey, Chandler."

The following letter[3] from Lady Elizabeth Winwood to her son-in-law Edward, second Baron Montagu of Boughton, concerning the illness of his second son the Hon. Ralph Montagu (afterwards first Duke of Montagu) at Westminster School, is undated; but as the Dowager Lady Montagu therein referred to died in July 1648, it was probably written either in 1647 or early in the following year.

"Honorable Lord,

"The letter I send heere with will acquaint your Lordsh with the occasione of my now writinge and sendinge this bearrer exspreslie to you—it hath pleased God to visit poor Raphe Mon-

[1] When Busby asked Philip Henry the first time he saw him after he had been turned out by the Act of Uniformity, "Prythee, Child, what made thee a Nonconformist?" Henry replied, "Truly, Sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming." (See *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry*, p. 10.)

[2] Vincent's Christian name was Thomas, not John. For this election see *Alumni Westmon.*, p. 128.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vii. pp. 162-3. The original letter is preserved at Ditton Park, Slough.

tague with the small Pox—it seemes hee fell sicke one thorsdaie last, but I herd not anie thinge of it till yestordaie Night, which was the Lordes daie, so I sent one perposlie this morninge to Mr. Busby, to knowe of him for what conditione the poore Child was in, in the mene time Mr. Busby write this letter[1] to me by Monsor ther man, it much troubleth me forfeare the poore Childe should dooe other wise than well, but I hope the Lorde in mercie maie please to spare his life. Mr. Busby had remoufed him to a plaice in the stableyarde[2] on fridaie last as soone as they sawe what it was likelie to be and then hee sent Monsor one fridaie Night to Docktor Wrighte to desire him to come to see the Childe and to confere about him, and Docktor Wrighte had been verie ille of a distempor, and kepte his beade 2 or thre daies, and since that it seemes he had a hemmer fel downe in to his foote that hee was lame and not able to gooe himselfe but sent the epoticarie with such things as hee thoughte were best for the Childe to take, and pretended to send a nurs to looke to him, but your Lord[sh] will see by the letter that they neather like of the epotticarie nor the nurs to come to him, and for my parte the Childe hath been ille these 5 daies and now for the midest of them, and Mr. Busby is so confident of his well beinge, that I dare not aduise to admyte eayther of the nurses cominge to him, ore of the epotticaries giuing of him anie thinge, but beinge the Childe is so fare ordered by him, I thinke to releiue him holie to Mr. Busbys and the woman to whome they remoufed him for there care, for if there should be anie alteration made now, I feare it wolde discontent both Mr. Busby and the woman where hee is to: but I earnestlie desire that your Lord[sh] will wright your intentiones to Mr. Busby yourselfe how you will plese to haue him ordered. I hope Mr. Busby's lettor will giue your [*sic*] full satisfactione for his loue and care hee exspresis toardes him. As for

[1] This enclosure has unfortunately been lost.

[2] At the south-west corner of what is now Great Dean's Yard.

your sonne Edwarde[1] he continews verie well still but I aduise hee should lodge at my Ladie Montagews. in Regarde if hee should falle sicke as his brother did they wold presentlie send him from Mr. Busbyes as they did Raphe, and that wold be verie dangorous for him, where as if hee should fall sicke at my Ladie Montagews hee may continue there, and haue what ners and what attendance you plese, hee and his man still dyet at Mr. busbie and he gooe still to Skolle as long as hee is well. I am of Mr. busbies mind thay haue Ridden exstremelie, and the weather hath been extremlie hoot and then haue drounck offten at all hourres . . . beere when they where hotte by the . . . and Eate extremlie at all plases. All this disordere must nedes euer heate ther blods and put them into verie greate distempors, and I be leave Bettie[2] had comyted the same desordors, and will dooe the like still as long as she is abroad, and without thes desordores, verie manie fall sicke and die, my cousin Oliuer fell sicke at Quainton at my sonnes and died there, and my La : Angelde [*sic*] latlie dead and manie frendes and aquaintences euerie where ; so leauinge to troble your Lord anie longer . . . I rest your Lord^sh^ mother and seruant.

" Eliza : Winwood.

" I praie be pleased to wright your pleasure to Mr. Bosby concerninge your sonnes, and to my Ladie Montagew, by this bearror, for I am verie fearfull to aduise anie thinge but what you like best of."

Evelyn[3] paid a visit to the School on 13th May, 1661, and " heard and saw such exercises at y^e^ election of Scholars to be sent

[1] The Hon. Edward Montagu, Ralph's elder brother, was killed in the attack upon the Dutch East India fleet in the port of Bergen, August 1665.

[2] The Hon. Elizabeth Montagu, Ralph's sister, married Sir Daniel Harvey, Kt., Ambassador at Constantinople in 1668.

[3] *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, edited by William Bray, second edition, 1819, vol. i. p. 337.

to y^e^ University, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonish'd me in such youths, with such readiness and with some of them not above 12 or 13 years of age. Pity it is that what they attaine here so ripely, they either not retain or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, tho' many of them do; and no lesse is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latine, so that out of England none were able to understand or endure it. The Examinants or Posers were Dr. Duport,[1] Greek Professor at Cambridge; Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ Church, Oxon; Dr. Pierson,[2] Dr. Alestree,[3] Dean of Westm^r^,[4] and any that would."

The Election at Westminster continued for many years after Evelyn's day to be regarded as a fashionable spectacle, and the old school-room was annually crowded with the patrons and relations of the competitors. Bolingbroke on 4th July, 1713, writes thus to his friend Matthew Prior:[5]—"At the last election at Westminster, I endeavoured to have sent a very pretty lad, who wears your name, and therefore was entitled to my best services, to Christ Church: but Bentley, *pro solitâ humanitate suâ*, leaped over eight boys to

[1] James Duport, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He was the author of *Musæ Subsecivæ, seu Poetica Stromata*, Camb., 1676, 8°, in which will be found some Latin verses addressed "ad Scholam Westmonasteriensem" (pp. 308-9) and "ad Reverendum Virum Ricardum Busbeium S. T. D. Westmonasteriensis, et Ecclesiæ Canonicum, pariter et Scholæ Moderatorem" (pp. 310-11). The copy of this book presented to Busby, containing an autograph inscription by Duport, is preserved in the School library.

[2] John Pearson, afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[3] Richard Allestree, afterwards Provost of Eton College.

[4] John Earle, afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

[5] *Letters and Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke*, 1798, vol. ii. 437.

make this youth his first option, and remained, with all the good breeding of a pedant, inflexible." Pulteney in a letter to George Colman the elder, dated 29th May, 1750,[1] says, "I hope now you will think of studying, as you ought, extreamly hard this whole year, that you may make as good a figure as any Boy did, at the next Election, where I shall most certainly be to judge how you have employ'd your time." Influence rather than merit not unfrequently determined the fate of the candidates at "Election," and even the King himself sometimes "recommended" both major and minor candidates to the electors.[2]

William Taswell, Rector of Newington, Surrey, whose Latin diary has been translated by his grandson,[3] tells us that he was "admitted into the lowest class of Westminster School" towards the end of 1660.

"In the year 1663 my school-master William James, A.M., departed this life; Thomas Knipe succeeded him, since Head Master of Westminster School. About the same time Dr. Busby admitted me above the curtain.[4] The two next years, when Busby took little or no care of the fourth class I was in, I made but little proficiency in my learning.

"In 1665, when the plague commenced in town, Dr. Busby

[1] *Posthumous Letters from Various Celebrated Men*, edited by George Colman the Younger, 1820, p. 48.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1639-40, p. 567; 1660-1, p. 146; 1661-2, pp. 225, 273; 1667-8, p. 350; 1668-9, pp. 314-15. See also *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry*, 1699, pp. 5, 11; the *Autobiography of William Taswell*, etc.

[3] *Autobiography and Anecdotes of William Taswell, D.D.*, in the second volume of *The Camden Miscellany* (Camden Soc. Pub., 1st Series, No. lv.), pp. 8—15.

[4] That is to say, Taswell obtained his remove into the Upper School. See extract from the *Spectator* at the end of this chapter.

removed his scholars to Chiswick.[1] But it spread its baneful influence even to this place. Upon this Dr. Busby called his scholars together, and in an excellent oration acquainted them that he had presided as Head Master over the school twenty-five years, in which time he never deserted it till now. That the exigency of affairs required every person should go to his respective home. I very greedily laid hold of the opportunity of going to Greenwich, where I remained ten months.

* * * * * *

[1] The College House at Chiswick was secured to the School through the generosity of Gabriel Goodman in 1570. The buildings were intended to be used as a pest-house or sanatorium for the accommodation of one of the prebendaries of Westminster, the master of the School, the usher, and the forty boys on the foundation, who were to retire thither in time of sickness, or at other seasons when the Dean and Chapter should think proper. Busby used frequently to reside here in the summer-time. John Bowack, a writing master at Westminster School for many years, who wrote an account of Chiswick in 1706, says "the building is now so decay'd with age that 'tis unfit for such an use, and is patch'd up into small Tenements for the poor labouring People of the Town" (*The Second Part of the Antiquities of Middlesex*, etc., 1706, pp. 47-8). If Bowack's statement was correct the College House must have subsequently undergone considerable repairs, for in 1725 it was inhabited by Dr. Robert Freind. John Nicoll, his successor, was the last Head-master who occasionally resided there, but Markham is said to have rented the prebendary's lodgings of the Dean and Chapter during his Head-mastership. When this house was "in the tenure of Robert Berry, Esq., the names of the celebrated Earl of Halifax, John Dryden, and many others were to be seen upon the walls" (Faulkner's *History and Antiquities of Brentford*, etc., 1845, p. 293). It was subsequently occupied by Whittingham's celebrated "Chiswick Press," and " was pulled down early in 1874, when it was found that, concealed under stucco and modern carpentry, the lower walls were of very early date, built of rubble, of great thickness, and decidedly ecclesiastical character; but no sufficient note seems to have been made of them" (Thorne's *Handbook to the Environs of London*, 1876, part i. p. 105). See also Lyson's *Environs of London*, 1795, vol. ii. pp. 190-3; and *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, 1866, vol. i. p. 6.

"In the year 1666, about the Easter week, when the violence of the plague was considerably abated, I revisited Westminster School. It was at that time about the middle of May, and it was the time of election for those who were to be admitted King's Scholars, myself being appointed to succeed as thirteenth. The Christmas following twelve scholars were admitted, the thirteenth vacancy not as yet taking place.

"The 4th May, 1667, I was enrolled a King's Scholar by the Bishop of Rochester, Dean of Westminster.[1] I was extremely maltreated during my seven months and two weeks servitude as junior by the monitors, whom a considerable share of power with which they are invested renders insolent; employed chiefly in performing the menial office of a servant, in consequence of this diverted from my studies, and even when freed from this state of slavery, could scarce return to them, indulging a lazy disposition.

"And not to pass over in silence that memorable event—the Fire of London, September 2; it happened between my election and admission as scholar. On Sunday, between ten and eleven forenoon, as I was standing upon the steps which lead up to the pulpit in Westminster Abbey, I perceived some people below me running to and fro in a seeming disquietude and consternation; immediately almost a report reached my ears that London was in a conflagration; without any ceremony I took my leave of the preacher, and having ascended Parliament steps, near the Thames, I soon perceived four boats crowded with objects of distress. These had escaped from the fire, scarce under any other covering except that of a blanket.

* * * * * *

[1] John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York.

"On the next day, John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster (who in the civil wars had frequently stood sentinel), collected his scholars together in a company, marching with them on foot to put a stop, if possible, to the conflagration. I was a kind of page to him, not being of the number of King's Scholars. We were employed many hours in fetching water from the back side of St. Dunstan's Church in the East,[1] where we happily extinguished the fire.

"The next day, Tuesday, just after sunset at night, I went to the royal [King's ?] bridge in the New Palace [Yard] at Westminster to take a fuller view of the fire. . . . . About eight o'clock it broke out on the top of St. Paul's Church, already scorched up by the violent heat of the air, and lightning too, and before nine blazed so conspicuous as to enable me to read very clearly a 16mo. edition of *Terence* which I carried in my pocket."

On Thursday, Taswell explored the ruins of St. Paul's, and after filling his pockets "with several pieces of bell metal," and accoutring himself with a sword and helmet which he had "picked up among many others in the ruins," he "traversed this torrid zone back again."

"About the beginning of the year 1670, the funeral obsequies of General Monk were celebrated;[2] previously to which a royal vault was opened in which were two urns; one appropriated to

[1] On St. Dunstan's hill, between Tower Street and Lower Thames Street. It was restored by Wren, who built the tower. The body of the existing church was rebuilt in 1817.

[2] George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, died on 3rd January, 1670. He was "laid in his vault, April 29; his funerals were solemnized April 30."—Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Soc. Pub., No. x.), p. 172.

Queen Mary, the other to Queen Elizabeth. I dipped my hand into each. I took out of each a kind of glutinous red substance, somewhat resembling mortar. That of Mary only contained less moisture.

"The 2nd of May, 1670, the public election came on. Electors, Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford; Dr. Compton, Sub-Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of London: these from Oxford. From Cambridge—Dr. Pierson, Master of Trinity College, afterwards Bishop of Chester, with his Assessor. Candidates:—William Breach, M.D., and now student of Christ Church. William Taswell. Daniel Skinner,[1] afterwards student of Christ Church. Samuel Fisher, whom I succeeded in my rectory at Norwich.[2] Acton Cremer. Martin Joyce, who in 1672 died at Cambridge. Egedius Thornbury,[3] now chaplain to Lord Northumberland. Samuel Wilson, now rector of a church in Ireland. Morer, Harper, and Mapledoft[4] I had forgot.[5] It was the 4th day of May when the statutes of Queen Elizabeth were read relating to the election, in which are inserted these words—tres jubeo, plures opto. Therefore the electors consigned four to Oxford, and as many to Cambridge. Each of these universities have the preference in election by rotation; but in 1670 Oxford elected first. The Oxonians first elected Breach. The Cantabrigians, Mapledoft. The former again proposed Harper,

[1] This is a mistake. Daniel Skinner was elected to Trin. Coll., Camb.

[2] Another mistake. Taswell succeeded Samuel Fisher as rector of Swanton Novers and of Wood Norton, co. Norfolk.

[3] Possibly Giles Thornburg, Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who graduated B.A. 1673, M.A. 1677 (*Grad. Cantabrig.*, 1823, p. 468): see *Alum. Oxon.*, 1500—1714, vol. iv. p. 479, s. n. Thornboro, Giles.

[4] This should be Mapletoft.

[5] For this election see *Alumni Westmon.*, p. 169.

a young man of learning, but void of morals; therefore being superseded they elected William Taswell. The latter, however, admitted Harper. The Oxonians again proposed Skinner, proud, empty, and void of learning; therefore superseding him, they chose Samuel Fisher, of a very good heart and studious besides. The Cantabrigians, however, elected Skinner. The other two were Cremer and Joyce; the former to Oxford, the other to Cambridge: so that Breach, Taswell, Fisher, and Cremer were elected for Oxford; and Mapledoft, Harper, Skinner, and Joyce for Cambridge.

"The three remaining candidates were Morer, Thornbury, and Willson. However, by the recommendation of the Earl of Montgomery, his godfather, Willson was enrolled among the Christ Church ones.

"About the end of June following we took our leave of Westminster, and on the 29th of the same month, St. Peter's day, we reached Oxford."

Wood records under 5th Nov., 1681, that the "Westminster School boyes burn'd Jack Presbyter instead of the Pope in a bonfier, which vexed the presbyterians of London."[1]

The boys witnessed a curious scene in the Abbey at the reading of the King's declaration for liberty of conscience on 20th May, 1688. William Legge, afterwards first Earl of Dartmouth, then a boy at the School, has left the following account of the manner in which it was received[2]:—

"As soon as Bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church that

[1] Wood's *Life and Times* (Oxford Hist. Soc. Pub., No. xxi.), vol. ii. p. 558: see also Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, vol. i. p. 142.

[2] Burnet's *History of his own Times*, 1833, vol. iii. p. 229 note.

nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and Westminster scholars. The Bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation."

Francis Lynn, afterwards Chief Secretary of the Royal African Society, kept a diary in a most methodical fashion.[1] Though the account of his school-days at Westminster is unfortunately devoid of personal anecdote, it contains much interesting information concerning School fees and expenses.

"I was born the 2nd day of November, 1671, about one of the clock in the morning, in Westminster, and bred up by my father, and two elder brothers, John and Charles, who were at Westminster School, till between nine and ten years old, and then, without having been at any other school, I was put there under the care of Dr. Busby, or rather of Mr. Knipe, the second master, being admitted the very lowest boy in the school, which I passed quite through, and in the course, was captain of every form. I lodged and dieted at home, so the charge of my schooling, during the eight years from admission, till I got into the college, being at 10*s.* the quarter, was for eight years, 16*l.*; to Dr. Busby, every Christmas, as a gift, one guinea, 8*l.* 12*s.*; to Mr. Knipe, ditto, half-a-guinea, 4*l.* 6*s.*; to the usher, ditto, 5*s.*, 2*l.* In all, besides books, 30*l.* 18*s.*

"In May 1689 I was elected into the foundation as a King's scholar, having been put by two elections before, for want of friends, but now standing captain, or senior, I was elected in accordingly.

[1] *Alumni Westmon.*, pp. 217—220.

"Here follows a particular account of expense whilst in Westminster College, taken from my father's pocket-book:—

"May 1689.—3. To entertain my schoolfellows, upon my being elected, a usual custom, 7*s.*—6. For my theam making, 5*s.*; for an old gown for common use, 10*s.*—9. For a trunk, 14*s.*; nine ells of Holland, for surplice, 1*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; 16 ells of sheeting, 16*s.*; a yard and a half of kenting, 1*s.* 6*d.*; a remnant more, 1*s.*; a King's scholar's cap, 6*s.*: Total, 3*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*—For admonishing money, *i. e.* the forfeitures for speaking English,[1] 6*d.*—16. A Bible, Practice of Piety, and a comb, 4*s.* 7*d.*—24. For a new gown, 2*l.* 1*s.*—Total, 2*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

"June 1689.—10. This day was admitted into the college by the Dean, and put on my gown.—11. For double commons, and servants' fees, as customary on this occasion, 1*l.*; pocket-money and candles, 10*s.* 5*d.*; new feather bed and bolster, 1*l.* 13*s.*; bedstead cord, and mat, 6*s.*; a rug, 12*s.*; two new blankets, 11*s.*; a new table, 7*s.*; a canopy to the bed, 7*s.*;—Total, 5*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*

[1] Malone says, "In the hall of the College of Westminster, when the boys are at dinner, it is *ex officio* the place of the second boy in the second election to keep order among the two under elections; and if any word after he had ordered silence be spoken, except in Latin, he says to the speaker, *tu es custos;* and this term passes from the second speaker to the third or more till dinner is over. Whoever then is *custos* has an imposition. It is highly probable (adds the very respectable gentleman to whom I am indebted for this information) that there had formerly been a *tessera*, or *symbolum*, delivered from boy to boy, as at some French schools now, and that *custos* meant *custos tesseræ, symboli*, etc.; but at Westminster the symbol is totally unknown at present" (*Works of John Dryden*, 1821, vol. xviii. p. 98 note). This note is appended to a letter written by Dryden to Busby, complaining that his son Charles had been made *custos* three days running. The substitution of an imposition in the place of a fine must have been made after Taswell's time.

"20. Paid to the eight seniors for my freedom, as customary for the captain of the election, 8*l.* 12*s.*

"July 1689.—8. Paid Mr. Gilbert for a waistcoat, 18*s.* 6*d.*; pocket-money 1*s.*; poll-tax, 1*s.*—11 and 22. Pocket-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*—Total, 1*l.* 2*s.*

"August 1689.—9. Pocket-money, 1*s.*—12. Pocket-money, 1*s.* 29. Pocket-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*—Total, 3*s.* 6*d.*

"September 1689.—9. Candles, 5*d.*—12. Pocket-money, 1*s.*—16. For Dr. Busby, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*—25. Pocket-money, 7*d.*—30. Barber and bedmaker,[1] 4*s.*—Total, 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*[2]

"October 1689.—4. For Dr. Williams's Catechism, 1*s.*—9. For pocket-money, 6*d.*—10. Candles, 5*d.*; pair of under-stockings, 1*s.* 3*d.*—15. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—25. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—29. Wax-candles, 7*d.*; cotton candles, 5*d.*—30. Pocket-money, 9*d.*—Total, 5*s.* 11*d.*

"November 1689.—7. A waistcoat altered, 3*s.* 6*d.*—10-17. Pocket-money, 2*s.* 6*d.*—30. Curtains to my bed, 12*s.*—Total, 18*s.*

"December 1689.—3. Candles and pocket-money, 11*d.*—13. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—23. Barber, bedmaker, and self, 5*s.*—25. Box-money to servants, 2*s.*—Total, 8*s.* 5*d.*

"January 1690.—6. To Dr. Busby for two quarters, 2*l.* 3*s.*—7.

[1] The office of "Bedmaker" in College had not been in existence very long. On 11th October, 1660, it was ordered, "by the special favour of the Dean and Chapter to the Scholars, that the allowance of eight pounds per annum be paid to a woman who shall make the beds, and daily sweep the Long Room, roofs, windows, and boards, jaques, stairs conducting to the Chamber of the Scholars, and upon every default to have subtracted xii*d.* of her Salary, and the care thereof to be reserved to the Master of the School" (*Extracts from Acts of Chapter*, p. 17).

[2] So in the original; probably some items have been omitted.

Pocket-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*; to Mr. Knipe, new year's gift, 10*s.* 9*d.*—19. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—Total, 2*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

"February 1690.—2. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—8. A pair of shoes, 3*s.* 6*d.*; candles and faggots, 1*s.* 5*d.*—19. Pocket-money, 6*d.*—Total, 5*s.* 11*d.*

"March 1690.—4. For tarts, to treat as free-boy on Shrove Tuesday, 10*s.*—11. For making a coat, 8*s.* 27. Barber and bedmaker, 4*s.*—Total, 1*l.* 2*s.*

"April 1690.—12. For the election board, and putting up my name in gold letters on the tables, 10*s.*[1]—19. Stockings and shoes, 7*s.*—21. Candles and pocket-money, 1*s.* 11*d.*—Total, 18*s.* 11*d.*

"May 1690.—30. A pair of shoes soled, 1*s.* 2*d.*; pocket-money, 6*d.*—Total, 1*s.* 8*d.*

"June 1690.—28. Barber and Bedmaker, 4*s.*; pocket-money, 1*s.*—Total, 5*s.*

"July 1690.—3. Poll-tax, 1*s.*—14-31. Pocket-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*—Total, 2*s.* 6*d.*

"August 1690.—6-25. Pocket-money, 2*s.* 6*d.*

"September 1690.—2. Candles, 10*d.*—23. For the Doctor's new grammar, 4*s.*—Total, 4*s.* 10*d.*

"October and November nothing appears.

"December 1690.—30. To Dr. Busby for a year's schooling, 4*l.* 6*s.*

"January 1691.—2. To Dr. Knipe, for new year's gift, 10*s.* 9*d.*; pocket-money since September, at several times, 12*s.*; barber and bedmaker, 8*s.*—Total, 1*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*

[1] Mr. C. B. Phillimore, in his remarks upon the tablets in the Dormitory (*Alumni Westmon.*, p. 531), seems to have entirely overlooked this entry.

"February 1691.—Nothing appears but five months' candles, 2*s.* 1*d.*

"March 1691.—25. Barber and bedmaker, 4*s.*; pocket-money, 5*s.*—Total, 9*s.*

"April 1691.—20. To Dr. Busby, quarterage, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; pocket-money, 3*s.* 6*d.*—Total 1*l.* 5*s.*—Grand total, 39*l.* 17*s.*

"May 1691.—12. I was elected away, captain of the school, to Trinity College, in Cambridge, together with the Hon. Dixey Windsor, Esq., William Shippen, Hugh James, and John Lambe. At the same time, to Oxford, were elected, W. Adams, Henry Brydges, Adam Langley, and Nicholas Burton.[1]

"June 1691.—27. This day I went down to Cambridge, and was admitted in Trinity College, under Mr. Power as my Tutor. Expenses attending it:—Coach hire, 10*s.*; on the road, 8*s.* 6*d.*; at the college, to servants, 12*s.*; to my tutor's sizer, 2*s.* 6*d.*; to the library keeper, 2*s.* 6*d.*—Total, 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

* * * * * *

"Abstract of the foregoing accounts:—Charge at Westminster School, from my first going thither till I got to be a King's Scholar, 30*l.* 18*s.*; charge while I was a King's Scholar till I was elected to the university, 39*l.* 17*s.*; charge at the university till I took my Bachelor's degree and came for London, 142*l.* 10*s.*—Total for 14 years' education, 213*l.* 5*s.*"[2]

[1] For this election see *Alumni Westmon.*, p. 216.

[2] See *Diary of John Herrey, first Earl of Bristol*, 1894, pp. 101, 103, 104, 105, for the expenses of his four sons at Westminster School, 1712—1719. Some extracts from a bill of the Hon. Arthur Moore for the expenses of his son at Westminster, incurred from 21st Dec., 1714, to 21st June, 1715, will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, xii. 365.

The Hon. Colin Campbell, who is referred to in the following extract from a letter[1] written by his mother to Patrick Smyth of Methven Castle, Perthshire, was the only son of John, first Earl of Breadalbane and Holland by his second wife. The letter, which is undated, was probably written in 1687 or 1688.

"Colin is a busy man at his lessons; is every day at School all this winter before 7 o'clock, and his wax candle with him, and doth not come out till past 11, and they return at 1 and stay until near six. This was far from his diet at home, and in the great cold school he sits the whole day over without a hat or cap, and all the windows broke, and yet thanks be to God he takes very well with it, though he never seeth a fire but in my house. At the beginning his fellow scholars were hard on him upon the account of his nation, but he doth now hold up pretty well, either at scotching[2] or boxing with them. However, I fear I lose a Scotsman, for he begins to get their words and accent. I wish I had your eldest son at school with Colin. They are bravely taught both to be scholars and orators at Doctor Busby's school at Westminster, where my son is. I was frightened at the report of the severity of the masters, but my child now six months hath been at it, and has never got a frown from any of the Masters: on the contrary, he is but too much made of. The Masters are wise, discreet men, and children of 6 years are in the first form. Colin was entered to the third, and in summer is to go to the fourth, where they learn Greek."

Two practical jokes, recorded in a small octavo volume of *Merry*

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford for this interesting extract. The original letter is in the possession of the present owner of Methven Castle.

[2] Scotching probably means wrestling. See *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Soc. Pub., No. lxxxix.), vol. iii. p. 447: s.n. Schoggynge.

Passages and Jeasts,[1] preserved in the British Museum, may be quoted here.

"107. At Westminster Schoole, the Monitor usd to call the schollars by 6 of the clocke in the Morning all winter long, and as soone as ever they heard his *surgite*, they would skippe out of their bedds and away to prayers. Three or 4 raskells (for there lay many Boyes in one chamber), observing two that were Beddfellowes to be very nimble and hasty upon the Call; and their Bedd being placed under a great Beame; they contrivd it so, as in the night in a dead sleepe, to fasten cords to the Bedd, and drew it up a great height; in the darke morning (hearing the summons of the monitor) out springs one of one side (according to their usuall manner), and the other on the other side of the Bedd, and Bounc't against the floore; with a crackt crowne, soare bones, and much hazard of their Neckes.

"108. A Westminster schollar had a pott of butter sent him by his friends, which some waggs discovering, and that he kept it in his chest, attempted to picke his locke, and failing to get it that way, they tooke the chest, and sett it up a tosting against a hott fire; For, because They could not come at It, they made It come out to Them."

The well-known story told by Eustace Budgell in the pages of the *Spectator*,[2] happily illustrates the kindly feelings which bound old Westminsters together in the midst of the bitterest civil dissensions, and forms a fitting conclusion to this chapter on school life during the seventeenth century.

[1] Harleian MSS. 6395, ff. 16, 17. Sir Nicholas L'Estrange of Hunstanton, the compiler of this little volume, gives the names of Mr. Greene and Dr. Stubbe as his authorities for these two anecdotes (*ibid.* f. 89).

[2] *Spectator*, No. 313, for 28th February, 1712 (Seventh Edition, 1724, vol. ix. pp. 9—11).

"Every one who is acquainted with Westminster School, knows that there is a Curtain which used to be drawn across the Room, to separate the upper school from the lower.[1] A youth happened, by some Mischance, to tear the above-mentioned Curtain. The severity of the Master was too well known for the Criminal to expect any pardon for such a Fault; so that the Boy, who was of a meek Temper, was terrified to Death at the Thoughts of his Appearance, when his Friend, who sat next to him, bade him to be of good Cheer, for that he would take the Fault on himself. He kept his word accordingly. As soon as they were grown up to be Men, the Civil War broke out, in which our two Friends took the opposite Sides; one of them followed the Parliament, the other the Royal Party.

"As their Tempers were different, the Youth who had torn the Curtain endeavoured to raise himself on the Civil List; and the other, who had born the Blame of it, on the Military. The first succeeded so well, that he was in a short time made a Judge under the Protector. The other was engaged in the unhappy Enterprise of Penruddock and Groves in the West. I suppose, Sir, I need not acquaint you with the Event of that Undertaking. Every one knows that the Royal Party was routed, and all the Heads of them, among whom was the Curtain Champion, imprisoned at Exeter. It happened to be his Friend's Lot at the time to go the Western Circuit. The Tryal of the Rebels, as they were then called, was very short, and nothing now remained but to pass Sentence on them; when the judge, hearing the name of his old Friend, and observing his Face more attentively, which he had not seen for

[1] See William Taswell's diary, quoted on p. 89. This bar from which the curtain used to hang, is the one over which the pancake is thrown by the College cook every Shrove Tuesday.

many Years, asked him if he was not formerly a Westminster scholar. By the Answer, he was soon convinced that it was his former generous Friend; and without saying anything more at that time, made the best of his way to London, where, employing all his Power and Interest with the Protector, he saved his Friend from the Fate of his unhappy Associates. The Gentleman, whose Life was thus preserved by the Gratitude of his School-fellow, was afterwards the Father of a Son, whom he lived to see promoted in the Church, and who still deservedly fills one of the highest Stations in it."[1]

[1] All attempts to identify the actors in this "story very well known to several Persons, and which you may depend upon as a real Truth," have been unsuccessful. (See *Alumni Westmon.*, pp. 568-9; *The Elizabethan*, vol. vii. p. 321, vol. viii. pp. 8—9; and *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vii. p. 48.)

A King's Scholar.

CHAPTER VI[1]

BUSBY'S ACCOUNT BOOK

Appearance and character of the Account Book—Busby's expenditure—Visit of the School to Chiswick—Busby's alms—His expenditure on the School—His income—School fees—Arrears and defaulters—Stipends of Under Master and Usher—Social status of Busby's boys—Busby's raiment, plate, etc.—His tobacco—His substitutes in the pulpit.

Dr. Busby's Account Book, if it may so be called, is an unbound volume, $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches high by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. It seems to have contained originally 84, or, in the ordinary enumeration, 168 pages. Of these almost all are now discoloured and some considerably mutilated. At the beginning is inserted a folded sheet, rather longer than, and more than twice as broad as, the usual page. On this is written a phonetic alphabet with illustrative words. Near the end of the book is inserted a small piece of paper bearing a receipt for money paid to the teacher at Gedney. Before the last page there are inserted two other pieces of paper. One is of the size of a modern sheet of note-paper, and has gilt edges, the other is somewhat smaller and is plain. On these are written the names of the preachers who undertook to preach in Busby's turns in the Abbey in 1686 and 1687.

[1] This chapter has been kindly written for this memoir by Mr. John Sargeaunt.

At the beginning of the book sixteen pages are ruled for the lists of the School. Some of the pages are blotted and scribbled on, and many entries are crossed through or defaced. The ink was generally good, but in some cases is slightly faded. A few notes are in pencil, but even of these most are still legible.

Busby's Account Book is in fact the sole survivor of what seems to have been a series of volumes in which the great pedagogue, disdaining order and method, jotted down his payments and the debts owing him, lists now of his scholars, and now of his plate and raiment, with such other temporary memoranda as he might desire to have at hand. Beside his own entries it contains autograph receipts of his tradesmen and his ushers.

The contents of the first pages seem to indicate that the book had been intended for other uses. On them is written an early essay towards a phonetic alphabet. It is entitled "An Universall Alphabet, conteyninge six-and-thirty letters, whereby may be expressed the lively image of Man's voyce in what language soever; first devised upon occasion to seeke for fit letters to expresse the Virginian speeche, 1585." This alphabet seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, but can hardly be dealt with in this place. Of more interest are the entries which throw light upon the life of Westminster under the dominion of Busby.

The longest consecutive account of expenses belongs to the year 1656. It begins on 2nd February, and ends on 21st October. From this it is possible to deduce an approximate estimate of Busby's expenditure during the period of the Protectorate. Some of the items are paid bills for things bought before the beginning of the account, but these would probably be balanced by bills still

owing at its end. As there seem to have been no regular times for the delivery or payment of bills, it is not necessary to take any account of the fact that Christmas did not fall within this period.

For the thirty-nine weeks the ordinary expenditure was £494 14*s.* 3*d.* A further sum of £263 15*s.* is dealt with elsewhere. The annual expenditure is thus about £650. Some of the items can be classified. It is evident that it was Busby's custom to receive weekly an account of household expenditure from his housekeeper and to discharge it at once. Sometimes the housekeeper received money beforehand. These household accounts, as Busby usually styles them, come to about £200, or an average of somewhat over £5 a week. These payments do not include wages, and it is difficult to say how many of the other items may not be really classed under this head. In an account of payments, which seems to belong to the year 1662, the quarterly wages of the women of the household are entered as £12. There are also in 1656 two men, one styled Peter and the other Robert or Robin. Peter had £5 a year, and had charge of the horse and the garden. Robert's wages may have been £4 a year. The fact that he received on one occasion £2 for a suit does not necessarily imply that he was an indoor servant. Every week there is a payment of 8*s.* 6*d.* usually entered as made to S. W. or G. S. W. It can be seen from other passages that these letters stand for Goody Sawyer, but the amount seems too large to be set down as the old woman's wages. Perhaps we may reckon wages as about £80 a year.

Coals cost £26 8*s.*, the current price being about a guinea a chaldron, that is to say, about 17*s.* a ton according to the weight then given in a chaldron. In 1660 the price was under 18*s.* a

chaldron. There is also a small expenditure on faggots and firewood, and we know that Busby at times burnt billets. The accounts do not carry us to the coal famine of 1667, when coal for a time cost £3 a chaldron. Possibly Busby, like the provident Pepys, had a store large enough to last till the months of plenty.

Meat may have been partly included in the household accounts, but there are also butchers' bills for £8 4*s.* 10*d.*

The beer bill at first sight seems large. In this year Chapman, the brewer, was paid £30 in or about September, and £27 in December. Other bills, all paid late in the year, were £21 in 1658, probably for part of the year; £50 in 1660; £88 in 1663; and £50 in 1684. The remaining bills are missing. The quantity of malt liquor consumed is hard to ascertain; but if the bill of £88 was for a whole year, and if the cellar bills show an average proportion of the three kinds, we get a probable consumption for that year of about 30 hogsheads of strong beer, 100 hogsheads of small beer, and 20 hogsheads of ale. Making allowance for vacations, and the time spent at Chiswick, and assuming the household to consist of something over forty persons, we may estimate the daily consumption of each person at nearly three pints of small beer, and something over one pint of strong beer and ale.

The distinction between beer and ale was other than now obtains. "It is little more than an age," wrote Evelyn in 1664, "since hops . . . . transmuted our wholesome ale into beer." Busby at times received a present, to which Evelyn, who translated ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ by "give me good cider," would have attributed his hale old age. The carrier, Mr. Scudamore's or another's, had money for his pains.

	£	s.	d.
"given to sider car	0	5	0."

Here is the cellar bill in December 1658—

"there being then in house

7 hogsheads of small
2 hogsheads of strong } untapt."
3 kilderkins of ale

The "sophisticated god," as Evelyn calls wine, was not rejected. For wine there was paid £8 15*s.*, but the average expenditure seems to have been much more than this. Unfortunately the usual form of receipt is as follows—

"April 27, 1664.
All acc[ts] cleered betwixt us for wine
R. Busby.
Hen. Croone."

The largest bill is for £12 5*s.*, which bought "2 Terses of Clarett, 12 Gallons and 3 qrs. of Canary," and a rundlett, and paid the cost of carriage. Between 6th June and 29th June in an unnamed year there were consumed five quart and twenty-two pint bottles of claret. It is evident that Busby drank his pint a day, not holding of claret, as Bentley did, that it "would be port if it could," or, as Johnson, that it was "the liquor for boys." That Busby ever aspired to be a hero according to the Johnsonian obligation, there is no evidence in the accounts.

For his horse Busby seems to have rented a stable at £4 5*s.* a year. The usual charge for its oats was 2*s.* a week, while hay and horse leech and other needs called for about £9 a year, or an average of nearly 5*s.* a week. Like other famous chargers the

horse had a name, which in this case can hardly have been bestowed upon him in his prime, and in his decay is not suggestive of either pleasure or pace, for one of Busby's entries stands thus—

	£	s.	d.
"Hey for Old Woe	1	5	0."

The bills of the tailor and the draper, with the cost of such small articles as stockings and garters, come to about £30. For the year 1663 there are tailors' receipts for £31 11*s.*, and for the year 1666 for £33 10*s.*, while in another year at least £40 was paid to the tailor. It may, perhaps, be assumed that this was about the usual sum spent by Busby on his own raiment. The clothing of his household would not be included in this. Busby had two tailors in ordinary, Henry Skeene and David Collnaux or Collinaulx, whose name suggests a Gallic origin.

> "Jan. 14, 1658.
>
> Reed upon my Bill Jan. 14, 1658 (the account being 18*pd.* 11*s.* 0*d.*) the summe of seventeen pds in full discharge thereof. I say reed by mee
>
> David Collnaulx."

Gifts and alms account for £22 at least, including 30*s.* paid to "Peters Nurs in Sicknes." The remaining items seem to admit of no explanation, but probably some of them were charitable payments. Except a Bible bought for £2, there is no certain mention of books, but this omission was clearly exceptional.

In April or May of this year the School went to sojourn at Chiswick, where, in addition to the College House, Busby rented a house and garden at £17 a year. It would seem that there was always a small establishment there. The journey was made by

water, and cost at least £3 6*s.* 8*d.* The certain items, for here again there may have been others, are stated thus—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"Journey	00	16	06
Children's waterman	00	03	06
Carters to the Wharf	00	08	08
porters att Westminster	00	13	00
Porters at Cheswick	00	11	00
Barge for the Goods	00	14	00"

Of Busby's alms and gifts we can give no adequate account, for it may be surmised that some of the initials in his list stand for habitual recipients of his largess. We can, however, arrive at a minimum estimate from the items that figure as "gift" and "given." The sum of these is £7 6*s.* 1*d.*, the lowest item being one penny. Gifts, of which the recipients are named, come to £8 5*s.* To the poor at one time Busby gave £2 18*s.*, and to the Minister £1.

The following is one of several like entries—

"Nov. 25, 1661.

Recd of D. R. Busby the summe of fifty shill for 2 qrs Michaelmas and Ctmas 1661 the Salary of the Writing Master at Gedney in Lincolnshire, who is obligd to teach 10 children freely to read write and repeate the Church Catechisme for the same salary. I say recd

by me Partridge.

Memd. Every yr afore paymt a specimen of the childrens writing briefly to be given to D. R. Busby his assigne certified by Person of Quality, as being wrote in presence of Mr. Partridge or his Assigne by the said children."

It is characteristic of Busby, that during his supremacy the Chapter was never called upon to pay the price of repairs and alterations in the school. The significant blank in their records is explained by entries in this book. The earliest entry is of a small matter—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"Reed for foure Tables made for the Kings Scholars Chamber the summ of forty shillings by mee	02	0	0

I S"

After various small payments we find the following—

"Martij 21, 1659

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Reed then in full for the Presses and Seats for Bookes in the Library of the Schoole the summe of eighteene pds	18	0	0

I say reed
by me
Ad. Osgood."

Next year Osgood had £13. The following entry has also some interest—

"Dec. 17 : 1664

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Reed then of Dr. Busby for making the new staire by the Schoole in full the summe of foure pds by mee John Angier"	4	0	0

It must be remembered that the accounts are so intermittent, that in all probability much more money was spent in this period on the same kind of work. For his windows Busby had a contract with Robert Rawson, who covenanted to keep them "whole and cleene" for forty shillings a year. He was to come by himself

or his servant weekly, and in case of default to pay twelve pence a week.

The tables were made in 1656, and in the autumn of the same year there were bills of Angier the carpenter for £104, of Emmet the bricklayer for £73 15*s.*, and of an unnamed carver for £26.

Busby's payments were usually made in silver, and when he paid any small sum in gold, he seems to have mentioned the metal. In one or two cases he kept a double account of moneys received, separating the gold from the silver. Thus in the three last months of 1661 he received £131 13*s.* in silver, and £107 5*s.* in gold. One item of the latter sum is £16 15*s.*

An undated entry seems to show about £200 in hand.

"In scrinijs Nov monet — Coron — 37 10
Semicor — 36 0
April 3 73 10

Aur. — 100
— 008
16 15 0."

The new money referred to, if the entry belongs, as it probably does, to a year after 1662, was of the silver coinage designed by the Dutch engraver Rötiers, who had supplanted the more skilful but, as the authorities of the Mint are said to have stated, less expeditious, Thomas Simon.

If it is difficult to be sure of Busby's expenditure, it is still harder to find his income. The accounts are very fragmentary, dealing chiefly with the receipts for boarders, and it is likely that more was received at some times of the year than at others. Nor again can we be sure that all the boarders were in Busby's house.

The money may in some cases have been merely passing through his hands. Such as they are, the accounts tell us that he received for boarders in October 1662, £119 10*s*., in November £80 10*s*., in December £228 10*s*., in January and February £161, and in April £87 10*s*. The remaining accounts are too much confused to give any information. Perhaps the payments of boarders may be estimated at £1200 a year. The tuition fees of town boys were about £400 a year, but only about half of this came to the Head-master. The Christmas gifts of town boys were about £200, and the tuition fees of King's scholars £86 a year. From the foundation he received £20 a year. This gives a total gross income from the School of about £1700 a year. For this Busby had to lodge and feed nearly forty boarders. We may perhaps put his net income at £1000 or £1200 a year, more than was received by many bishops of the time.

Of the fees paid by boys in those days we get some information. For tuition, or, as it is indifferently called, instruction, teaching, or school, every boy paid 10*s*. a quarter, and this was the whole sum paid by home boarders, who constituted about two-thirds of the School. King's scholars paid this fee. In a list of 1656 some of the boys in the three lowest forms have 5*s*. and some 2*s*. written against their names. As one boy has 10*s*. written against his name, it can hardly be that this implies a reduction of the fee.

That there was also an entrance fee is clear, but how much it was is doubtful. There are three entries on this point. One is the case of Lord Maidstone, quoted below. The other two, both undated, are as follows—

£ *s. d.*

"Mday. 1 Entrance. Little boy, 1st terme — 10 0 0."

"Entrances.

£ *s. d.*

Jan. 2. Abram Cromwell, 2nd class — 0 10 0
Jan. 4. Nicolas Grice, 2nd class — 1 00 0."

From these entries it seems difficult to draw any definite inference.

The highest fee for board and lodging was £10 a quarter. This fee was paid by a boy named Luddington, by Lord Manchester's sons, and by others, who may be compared to the Gentlemen Commoners of an Oxford College. They perhaps had separate bedrooms, or shared a bedroom with a relative, or, as in the following instance, with what Johnson called a countryman.

"Fowler of Shropshire, same Cr with Sir Rich. Corbet, for a qrs board at the upper Table — £10 0*s.* 0*d.*"

Cr stands for chamber.

The boarding fee for other boys was in some cases £7, and in others £6. The former sum was paid by one of Lord Manchester's sons. It would seem that when his elder brothers left he changed his table. The difference between the two sums may perhaps be accounted for by a difference of age, but the book seems to supply no evidence on the point.

Boarders at the upper table, or possibly all boarders, were supposed to furnish their own rooms. In some cases they brought the furniture with them, as did Lord Maidstone, in others Busby supplied the furniture. The cost is estimated at twenty marks.

By the way, Busby's use of the word "mark" must be one of the latest instances of its employment in common reckoning.

Unhappily for Busby, it sometimes made but little difference what fee he imagined himself to charge, for there were some parents who seldom paid, and some who did not pay at all. The most conspicuous defaulters were two members of a family, which in that and the following generation supplied many high offices in the State. These were Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchelsea, and his cousin-german Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards first Earl of Nottingham, who had been at Westminster under Lambert Osbolston. Lord Winchelsea's eldest son left behind him that which was a poor equivalent for his fees.

> "L[d] Maddeston left 2 beds and furniture of C[r], but paid nothing for himself or man either entrance board school or attendance in time of sicknes at Nursery."

From another entry we learn that Busby paid thirty shillings to Martha Barbon for attending Lord Maidstone in his sickness. Busby estimates the value of a bed and hangings at £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, though he seems to have paid something more for them when he bought them new.

Lord Nottingham, the Amri of Dryden's, or, as we should perhaps rather say in this case, of Tait's, great satire, sent three sons to the School in 1659. His eldest son, the statesman of the Revolution period, and in later days the "orator dismal" of Swift, was nearly four years at the School. His next brother, who at the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688 became first the most unpopular and then the most popular man in the country, was more than four years at school before he matriculated at Christ Church. The third

brother was five and a half years at school, but neither for him nor for the others did Busby ever receive a penny. Again and again were their arrears entered in ever-increasing sums, till we are reminded of the couplet in which Swift described the oratory of the eldest of the brothers—

> "When once he begins he never will flinch,
> But repeats the same note a whole day like a Finch."

Busby reckons that Sir Heneage defrauded him of at least £395.

Another defaulter was Earl Rivers, whose two sons, says Busby, "owe for all their time." Lord Manchester and Lord Bedford, as became their stern Puritan stock, were punctual in their payments. There were other parents who would pay if they could. One Budgel, an elder kinsman of the unhappy friend of Addison, more than once made parcel payments and in the end paid all. Sometimes an "old arrear" unexpectedly came into the Doctor's coffers, as some time after Lady Day 1664 Sir James Lane paid £110 16*s.* 8*d.* for his son's fees, bed, and hangings.

On the other hand, Lumley Robinson's father presumed on his kinship with Busby, and paid nothing for the fees of six years or more, and we have such entries as these—

> "Mattocks never p^{d}.
> Benson never p^{d}."
> "Atkins owes all: went away June 12 or thereabouts."

The camel's back seems never to have broken, though the patient beast was sometimes roused to action. Here is an entry of March 1661: "Mr. Greene the Recorder's son (brother to my scholar now with me) owes me ten pds. at his going wh was intimated to his Father afore his death by his man who dyed abt the same time

with the Father, and He brought me lre from the Father promissing the discharge of tht arreere; and since I have signified the same debt to his executor, Mr. Godard, whose son my scholar Mr. Godard was contemporary with my other scholar Mr. Greene." Apparently the money was paid.

As Busby kept no entrance book, and had no system of accounts, he must often have been in doubt how much was really owing him. Thus in September 1661 Gore owed his fees for a year and a half. A reckoning was then made, and Busby noted "the time of his coming uncertaine: all pd but the uncertaine time, a qr or less." In the following May the Doctor records that he is still uncertain how long Gore had been at school. Against the name of a boy named Summers he writes in 1662, "q: time begin I think May." Nor was he much more careful in the receipt of money, if at least we may trust a debtor's memory.

> "Feb. 16, 1659.
> All acc$^{ts.}$ made up: there Remaind unpaid for board three pounds for Hezekiah Smallbrooke, there being also three qrs. for Schoole reckond as paide, unknowne to Mr. Busby, but consented to, if Mrs. Smallbrooke shall certefy it as truth upon her knowledge.
> witnes, Robt. Austen."

Sometimes Busby received his money by the hands of his humblest dependents, even the caretaker or some old servant at Chiswick. Thus against the name of Blackman in 1657 we have this entry—

> "recd. 39 pds. at Chesw. by old Gentlew."

The transmission of money from a distance must often have

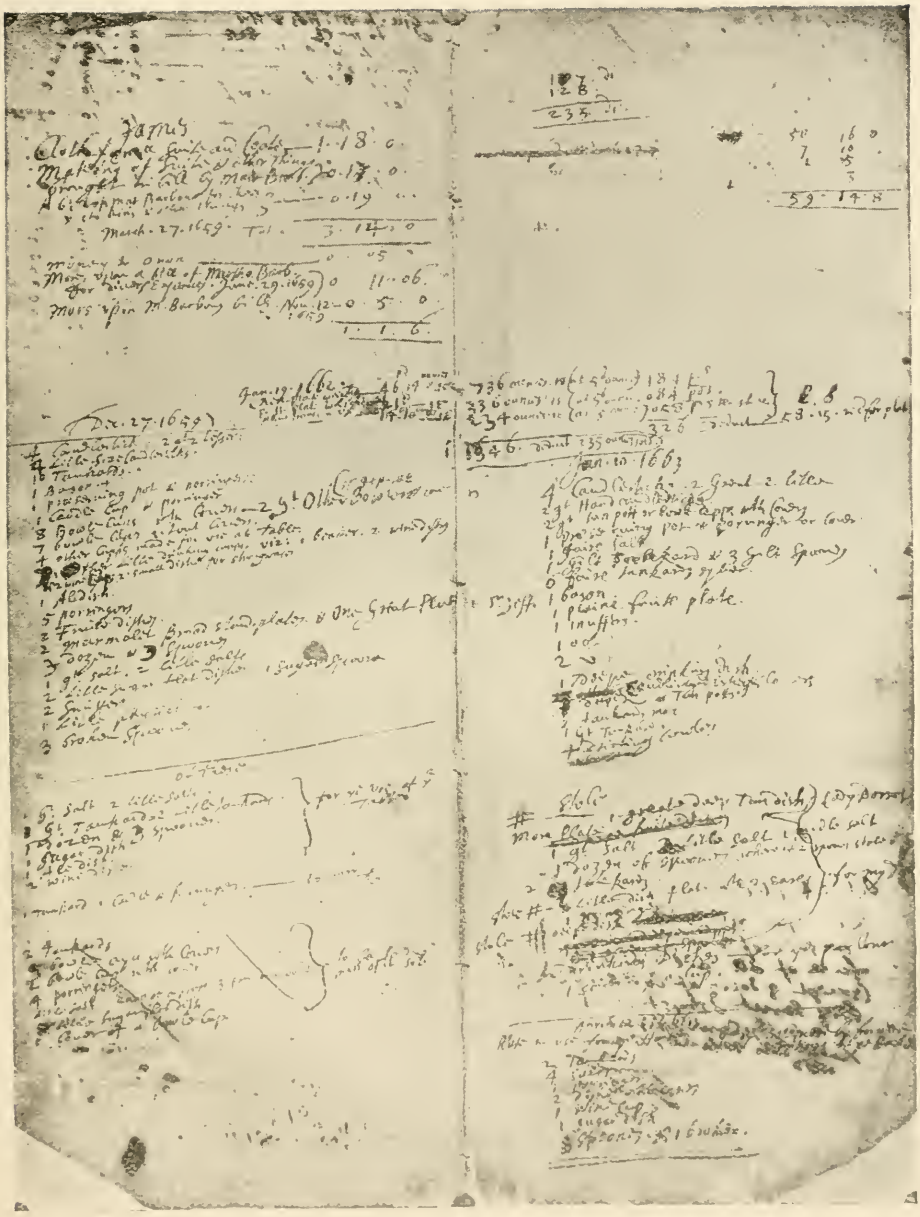
been difficult, and the difficulty may account for some of the unpaid arrears. Sometimes a provident parent sent the money by his son's hand.

"Jefferies pd 12*l.* seald in a bagg, untold, Whits. 58."

This Jefferies was not the future Chancellor, but the son of Lord Hatton's steward at Kirby. He was a musical genius, though his motto in 1658 can scarce have been *cantabit vacuus*.

There are several references to a curious but well-known custom which illustrates the social life of the time. It was usual for a boy of rank to be attended at school by his own man-servant. Busby made a varying charge for the man's board and lodging. In 1659 Sir Edward Seabright paid £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for his man for two months; and at the following Lady Day the Earl of Manchester paid £4 6*s.* 8*d.* for the man who had waited for a quarter upon his four sons. The other cases mentioned in the Account Book are those of Lord Maidstone and Mr. Packington.

The stipends of the under master and the usher may be inferred from the Accounts. The under master had, besides £15 a year from the foundation, and the right to take two boarders, the tuition fees of the hundred boys, more or less, who made up the forms which he taught. A Christmas gift of half-a-guinea from each of these boys brought up his income to about £300 a year. The usher had £40 a year, and a stuff gown from Busby, with a Christmas gift of five shillings from each of his boys. If he had also board and lodging his place may have been worth nearly £100 a year, not bad pay in those days. He might also hope for the reversion of the under master's place. William James, who was usher for some years before 1661, was glad to draw part of his



A page of Busby's Account Book.

salary beforehand, and contracted debts with Henry Seile, his bookseller, and others. These were paid by Busby and charged against the usher's stipend.

Busby's lists of the School show one change which followed the Civil War. Before 1650 the sons of the nobility were usually taught at home by tutors, and, if they went to the University, went there young. The boarders were sons of country gentlemen and clergymen, the day boys were largely sons of professional men, and of residents in London and Westminster. Of the boarders were Corbetts and Myttons from Shropshire, Knightleys from Northamptonshire, and Saviles perhaps from Yorkshire. Of the day boys were the sons of lawyers, such as John Green, Recorder of London in 1658, and Sir Thomas Robinson, who dwelt in the Temple; and of physicians, such as Alexander Fraser, afterwards leech to Charles II. George Hooper was the son of a man of means who dwelt in Westminster.

Some time before the Restoration the great families began to send their sons to Busby. The list contains Howards, Digbys, and Newports. The parents of sons had fought *ex parte regis* and suffered in the cause. There were three sons of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, who had voted against Strafford's attainder, and two sons of Thomas Savage, Earl Rivers, whose grandmother's house had been plundered by the Colchester rabble, "for no other ground than that she was a papist." The Presbyterian party was as strongly represented. William Russell, Earl of Bedford, had commanded the Parliament's horse at Edgehill. His elder sons went to no school, the two youngest came to Busby. They were followed by four sons of Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, who as Lord

Kimbolton had shared the peril of the five members, and as Lord Manchester had conquered at Marston Moor. There were sons of men whose politics lay between the Sackvilles and the Russells, such as Lord Keeper Bridgeman and Sir Harbottle Grimston.

Johnson says that it was known "to have been the practice of Dr. Busby to detain those youths long at school of whom he had formed the highest expectations." Certainly Dr. Knipe kept William Wogan two years beyond his time, that he might copy out Clarendon's History for the press. Once at least Busby admitted a boy at the age of nineteen. This was Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Dorset. Born in January $163\frac{7}{8}$, he had already been on his travels, when with two brothers he entered the School in November 1657. He may have come as his brother's protector, but neither the brilliance nor the debauchery of the witty poet can have owed much to his brief sojourn under Busby's roof.

In 1656 the number of boys in the School was as follows—

Lady Day quarter, 241.
Midsummer quarter, 209.
Michaelmas quarter, 216.
Christmas quarter, 204.

Busby was at times driven into litigation, and apparently paid fees directly to the counsel who appeared for him. An undated entry gives a list of sums varying from £1 to £4 paid to barristers. Among them are the distinguished names of Serjeant Glyn and Serjeant Maynard. The others are Serjeants Hyde and Fountain and Mr. Peck. It is worth noting, that of these five lawyers three were strong supporters of the proposal to confer the

title of king upon Oliver Cromwell. The fees were not guineas but pounds, and varied from £1 to £4.

Of Busby's tradesmen there was one, himself an old Westminster, destined to more fame after his death than during his lifetime.

"Jan. 29, 1663.

Reed then in full for all Acc$^{cts.}$ for Faggotts and billetts to the present date the sum of eight pounds fourteene shills six pence for the use of my by me

£	s.	d.
8	14	6

Master Edmund Godfrey, Esq^{e}
per ffrancis Smith."

Edmund Berry Godfrey was at this time a prosperous timber merchant, and had a yard near Whitehall Stairs. It will be observed that in writing the receipt Francis Smith ignored his master's second Christian name. It was still so unusual to give more than one name in baptism that even Bishop Burnet calls him Sir Edmonbury. For nearly two centuries the unfortunate timber merchant was called out of his name, despite the correct description on his monument in the cloister.

Near the end of the book is what appears to be an undated inventory of raiment in the Doctor's possession. For a bachelor's the list is certainly remarkable. There are indeed hoods and caps and cuffs and coifs, as became a grave and reverend divine. There are nine skull-caps and as many pocket-handkerchiefs, but there are only two shifts. As the sack to this bread was eight pairs of lawn cuffs and seven pairs of cuffs whose stuff is not mentioned, it would seem that the Doctor had no passion for clean linen that did not show. The remarkable part of the list is the number of pieces of raiment that could not have been used by a

man. There are five lawn whisks, and six pairs of other whisks, and two more that were not a pair. There were gorgets and forelaces for stomachers and petticoats, red and white and pink. The explanation doubtless is that Busby clothed his household, and the petticoats were after the kind of livery. We are told that of three red petticoats one went to Mat. Barbon and another to Kate Procer, while of four white petticoats two were served out to the two sisters in his household, and a third passed to Mat. Barbon. There was, moreover, a petticoat of figured velvet. For whom this was designed was not stated; but if Kate Procer had set her heart on it, she was doomed to disappointment, for the Doctor notes that it was "converted to my use." There are people still living who can remember the time when waistcoats of figured velvet were the only wear for men of fashion, but we can hardly imagine that such a stuff can have displaced a clerk's prunella, or that vanity was hidden beneath the gravity of the cassock. A waistcoat of silver-laced serge was not intended for Busby's own use, though the faded ink leaves us in ignorance of its purpose.

It must not, however, be supposed that the divine's outer raiment never travelled beyond the limits of silk and prunella. There is something more than a suggestion of Oriental splendour in the following receipt—

"May 7, 1666.

Reed aforehand five pownds to buy an Indian Gowne, a Tippet and Cloath and other necessaries for a suit for Dr. Busby. I say reed aforehand } 5*l.*

Chr. Skeene."

Nor was Busby indifferent to the material, as Mr. Skeene's predecessor had found to his cost—

"Dec. 9, 1663.

Reed in full for all Accts till this present date the summe of four pds eight shills there being left out the making of a Canonical coat because against direction it was made of prest cloath. I say reed

£	s.	d.
4	8	0

by me David Collinaulx."

One receipt shows that the French merchant could not spell in a foreign tongue.

"22 december 1660. Reseved of the wrtf Mr busby the somme of feve pounds six shelins in full of abille dat is teted the byguining off the 5 of Jenuoirs 1660 to the 21 of Juin 1660 Contening mindin somme Close and maikin a paire of hose Spaniche feson and maikin a Camelet of smale woile goune and Cloke and naros inosant and a Clas Cloke and naros inosant

by me d. Collinaulx."

Of plate in Busby's possession there is one complete list beside fragmentary references. This is dated January the nineteenth, 1662, and gives the weight of the silver. This was by the items 1320 ounces avoirdupois, and valued on Busby's computation at five shillings an ounce should give £330. By a combination of several arithmetical errors—it must be remembered that no mathematics were then taught at Westminster—he makes the weight 1346 ounces and the value £326. At the same time he determined to sell some of the plate, including such relics as "a cover of a bowle Cup" and "3 parts of spoons." In the following June he sold 235 ounces, for which he got £58 15*s.* 0*d.* Evidently this was all sold as old silver at five shillings an ounce. Some of what he kept must have been worth more, but, like honest Pepys, he took no account of the fashion.

Some of the plate may have been inherited, despite the *res*

angusta domi, for it can scarcely have been either bought by or presented to a bachelor. Busby lent or gave it to those who could find a use for it.

"1 Caudle and porringer—to Mrs. F:"

Sometimes we see traces of the careless maid and of the land rat. Three "broken spoones" speak of the former, and the word "stole" four times used of the latter. Lady Dorset's great dish went to the thieves.

Of the other pieces the most interesting are one "Little physick box," two "Marmalet Broad stand-plates" and two "drinking Dishes for the parlour."

Unlike Bentley, who learned to smoke at the age of seventy, Busby was no tardy worshipper at the shrine of tobacco. It is true that there is no mention of it in the accounts of 1656, but we may very well suppose that it is included in some of the miscellaneous items. That it was not always purchased alone is clear from the following entry—

"Mr. Kendal for Tob. and Coff. 00 10 00."

While this again may show that it was at times paid for through the page—

"q. Harry
Wine and Tobacco ——— 2 . . "

The sum in this case is £2. On 19th January six shillings and sixpence was spent on tobacco, and five days later tobacco appears as costing a pound. If the first quantity was consumed before the second was bought, Busby's consumption was hardly *parcus et infrequens*, for six and sixpence would buy at least two pounds of such tobacco as the commonalty smoked, and something like three-quarters

of a pound of the finest product of Virginia. To-day's price of tobacco is much as that of the time of Oliver and Charles the Second.

Unimpaired as Busby kept his faculties, he was not able to preach in his latter years. It was an age of painful preaching, when brevity was little accounted of, and when Pepys could range from church to church and hear parts of many sermons. Busby can be forgiven if at the age of fourscore he spoke through alien lips. In 1686 he had ten "preaching turns" in the Abbey, and on each occasion his place was taken by one of his old pupils. The most distinguished of these substitutes was George Hooper, at that time chaplain to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. Evelyn counted him in "the first rank of pulpit men in the nation." In 1687 eleven old Westminsters had the honour of preaching in their Master's place.

Little Dean's Yard.

APPENDIX I.

THE WILL AND CODICILS

OF

THE REV. RICHARD BUSBY, D.D.

APPENDIX I

THE WILL AND CODICILS OF THE REV. RICHARD BUSBY, D.D.

In the Name of God. Amen.

I, RICHARD BUSBY Doctor in Divinity One of the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Saint Peter in Westminster and Master of the King's School there being infirm in body but (praised be God) of sound mind and good understanding Do make and declare this my last Will and Testament revoking and disclaiming all other Wills by me of any time heretofore made and in particular the Will made by me bearing date the fifteenth day of June in the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand Six hundred Eighty five.

Will dated 10th July, 1693. Revocation of former wills.

First. I bequeath my Soul into the hands of God relying wholly upon his good grace and mercy for the pardon of all my sins and for the benison of everlasting peace and blessedness through Jesus Christ my only Saviour testifying hereby that I have always lived and by God's Grace do intend to die in the Communion of the Church of England which (as I conceive) undoubtedly agree-eth with the Primitive Catholic Church. My body I commend to decent christian burial and if it may be by the favour of the Dean of Westminster I desire to be buried in the said Collegiate Church of Westminster near to the lower step ascending to the Rail and leading to the Altar of the said Church hoping for a joyful resurrection to Life eternal.

Disposition of his soul.

Disposition of his body.

And as to my temporal estate when my Legacies Debts and Funeral expenses are fully satisfied and paid which I require to be done in the first place and within three months after my decease. I do dispose thereof as followeth :

Direction as to the payment of his debts, legacies, etc.

And First I give and devise all that my Manor of Willen in the

Devise of the Manor of Willen with the advowson thereof and other his lands and hereditaments wheresoever to thirteen trustees.

county of Bucks with the rights members and appurtenances thereof or thereunto belonging. And also the perpetual Advowson patronage and right of presentation to the Vicarage of the parish Church of Willen aforesaid and all other my Mesuages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever in Willen aforesaid or elsewhere in the county of Bucks and all other my Lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever and wheresoever and all my Estate right title interest in Law and Equity therein which Lands and premises aforementioned are of the rare yearly value of Five hundred and Twenty pounds or thereabouts over and above the yearly rent or sum of sixty one pounds payable out of some part of the premises by Virtue of a decree of the High Court of Chancery to the Vicar there and his successors unto my honored and worthy friends the Right Honorable Daniel Earl of Nottingham the Right Honorable James Lord Lanesborough the Honorable Heneage Finch Esq. Sir Thomas Dike Bart. Sir Thomas Millington Knt. Sir John Baber Knt. the Revd. Dr. George Hooper Dean of Canterbury the Revd. Dr. Robert South William Thursby Esq. Richard Newman Esq. William Busby of Gray's Inn Esq. brother to Sir John Busby Thomas Knipe of Westminster Clerke and John Nedham of Westminster aforesaid Gentleman their Heirs and Assignes for ever. In Trust nevertheless and to the uses intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned and expressed in this my Will or in Schedule or Codicil which shall hereafter be annexed to this my Will. And First my Will and meaning is and I do hereby direct and appoint that my Trustees aforementioned their Heirs and Assignes shall yearly for ever pay and allow out of the rents and profits of the lands and premises in Willen aforesaid and elsewhere the yearly sum of Two hundred pounds for the relief and support of such poor Ministers who have a great work and small revenue under the value of fifty pounds a year and are painful and diligent in the Ministry and are of good life and conversation and do teach the children of the parish the principles of Christian Religion as they are obliged by the rules of the Church to do which said sum of Two hundred pounds I would have to be distributed yearly unto such Ministers more or less to each according to their known necessities and as the major part of my said Trustees at their public meetings shall see meet and convenient upon good and sure information of the persons and their conditions not less than five pounds at any one time to any one such person nor more than Twenty pounds to any one person in any one year and this distribution to be

Upon trust to pay the yearly sum of £200 for the relief of poor Ministers in Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire, whose stipends shall be under £50 per annum.

made yearly to the poor Ministers within the counties hereafter mentioned viz. Lincoln (my native country) Oxford (the place of my education) Middlesex (the place of the chief residence of my life) and Buckingham (the place where this my Estate disposed of in these benefactions lyeth). And my meaning and desire is that my said Trustees shall every third year obtain a new list of sixty poor Ministers out of the aforesaid four counties three out of Lincolnshire for one out of any of the other three counties that county abounding much more with poor and necessitous Ministers which is a thing most deplorable and still to be relieved otherwise besides this my small contribution. So that the list aforementioned will contain thirty poor Ministers out of Lincolnshire and Ten out of every other of the three remaining counties. And for the making and renewing of the said list my Will and desire is that my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes do request the aid and assistance of the Archdeacons and Gentry of the said several counties for the knowledge of the poor deserving Ministers in the respective counties aforementioned and there upon make such distribution of the said Two hundred pounds a year proportionally and successively some one year and some another year as my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes shall in care and charity wisdom and prudence think best so that all the said poor Ministers may partake of the said Charity in proportion and quantity according to their needs and the best that may be for their comfort and relief. And I do further direct and appoint that my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes shall out of the rents and profits of the lands and premises in Willen aforesaid and elsewhere yearly for ever pay and allow unto such person as shall be the Receiver of the Rents and Revenues belonging to the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster for the time being whom I do hereby appoint to be the Receiver and Cashier of the Rents and Revenues of my Manor lands and premises aforementioned in Willen and elsewhere the sum of Twenty pounds of lawful money of England to be paid him yearly at the four most usual feasts in the year (that is to say) at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel the birth of our Lord God the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary and the nativity of St. John the Baptist by even and equal payments So as such Receiver do give security to my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes to answer such monies as shall be received by him and to take upon him those trusts and duties following (that is to say) That in the first place he do go down to my said Manor

To pay a yearly sum of £20 to the Receiver of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who is appointed Receiver of the trust funds.

The duties of the Receiver.

of Willen twice in every year to view the condition thereof and to order and direct the Bailiff and Tenants there the best he can for the well management of the concerns of the said Manor and the Tenants there. And in the second place that he take and state the Bailiff's accounts there and take order for the said Bailiff's getting in arrears of Rent and the performing of all other matters within the trust and duty of a bailiff. And in the third place that he from time to time give an account to my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes of his performance of the matters aforesaid and his issuing out of monies for the performance of this my Will and pursue such further direction as he shall from time to time receive from them for the effecting thereof. And further I will that my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes shall allow the yearly sum of Ten pounds to a Bailiff or Steward in the county of Bucks to be appointed by the said Receiver and approved of by my said Trustees for the better assisting my said Trustees and the receiving in their letting to farm and managing my said estate there and the bringing in my Rents to the said Receiver at Westminster. And my further Will and meaning is that such Bailiff shall give security by bond to my said Trustees faithfully and truly to collect the rents of the premises and to return the same to the said Receiver and to be careful in the repairs of my Tenements at Willen and to perform all other matters belonging to the office and duty of a Bailiff and my Will is that the said bailiff shall not pay any sum of money whatsoever to any person whomsoever but only to the hands and person of the Receiver for the time being. Nor the Receiver to presume to pay any money so received by him from the said Bailiff or otherwise being any part of my estate to any person whomsoever but only to my said Trustees at their Two General Meetings six of my said Trustees at the least being then present. And in case the Bailiff or Receiver or either of them shall presume to dispose or pay any money in anywise to any person whatsoever but only by order and direction of my said Trustees as aforesaid that he be then required immediately to repay the said money and be admonished for the future not to do the like and upon the like offence to be dismissed. And my further Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that the sum of Ten pounds be yearly expended by my said Trustees in providing of two dinners twice in every year for their public meeting to go then to examine and audit the accounts of my estates and to examine and inspect the due performance of the donations in this my Will the second Thursday both in

To pay a yearly sum of £10 to the bailiff to be appointed by the Receiver.

The duties of the bailiff.

To expend £10 annually in providing two dinners at the two meetings of the trustees.

Easter and Michaelmas Terms which I do hereby request of them to do. And at such their meetings in case that any two of my said Trustees shall happen to be dead that then the survivors of the Trustees aforementioned and those always to be eight in number or six at the least to choose two other right worthy persons of the like integrity and loyalty with themselves and no others in the place of those which are dead and do then and thereupon make assurances by advice of Counsel learned in the laws of my said Manor lands and premises together with those which shall hereafter be purchased according to the Trust herein declared to the use of such survivors and others to be chosen in the place of those which shall be deceased as aforesaid their Heirs and Assignes upon the trusts and intents herein declared to the end the said Trust may be continued to be performed from time to time to the Glory of God Almighty and the good by me intended for ever. All the rest of my estate in lands tenements and hereditaments with the rents issues and profits thereof and all my monies goods chattels and personal estate whatsoever which I shall die possessed of or interested in or intituled unto in law or equity my Will is that the same and every part thereof when my debts and legacies herein and such as I shall express and devise my schedule to be annexed to this my Will (which I do hereby declare shall be taken as part of my Will) as also my funeral charges shall be fully satisfied shall belong to and come to my Trustees aforementioned their Heirs and Assignes to be by them laid out and employed in the purchasing of lands of inheritance as near to Willen as conveniently they can and by them to be settled for such charitable uses as they in their Godly wisdom shall see meet and convenient it having been my purpose and resolution ever since the One and Thirtieth year of my life to settle such estate as God in his great mercy shall intrust me with upon such charitable uses as may lead to God's Glory and the relief and comfort of good people in necessity. And I do hereby Will declare and appoint that the charges of my Trustees of all kinds expended in the execution of the trusts relating to the performance of this my Will and also the charges of my Receivers and Bailiffs about the execution of the aforesaid Trusts and duties required of them relating to my lands shall be from time to time borne and allowed out of the rents and profits thereof over and above the salaries given and allowed as aforesaid and that they nor either of them shall answer for any casual or unwilful loss or miscarriage by fire or robbery or other the like accident of what either of them shall

Power to appoint new trustees.

Devise and bequest of all his residuary real and personal estate, after payment of his debts and legacies, to his trustees, to be employed by them in purchasing real estate near Willen to be settled upon such charitable uses as they shall think fit.

As to the expenses of the Receivers, bailiffs,

trustees, and exors.

so receive. And I will that all such charges as my Trustees or Executors any or either of them shall necessarily expend in or about the execution of the Trusts aforesaid and which they shall make proof of by their own oathes respectively shall be full and justly allowed them.

Appointment of arbitrators in the case of any doubt or dispute.

And my further Will and mind is and I do hereby also declare and appoint that if any doubt or dispute shall at any time or times hereafter happen about the exposition or meaning of any words or clauses contained in this my Will that then the same shall be expounded and construed by the Rt. Revd. the Lord Bishop of London the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas the Master of the Rolls and the Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for the time being whose judgments or judgment of any three of them shall be final and obligatory to determine such doubt of my meaning. And I will and declare also that the judgments of any three of the said Honorable and worthy persons aforenamed shall be final and binding to determine all differences happening between any persons or containing any matters relating to the Trusts in this my Will ordered and declared.

Appointment of five executors; to each of whom a legacy of £50 is given.

And lastly I do hereby constitute and appoint my honored and worthy friends the aforenamed Right Honorable Daniel Earl of Nottingham the Honorable Heneage Finch Esq. the Revd. Doctor Robert South William Thursby Esq. and John Nedham gentleman to be the Executors of this my Will and I do hereby give and bequeath to my said Executors for their care and pains to be taken in the execution of this my Will to every of them the sum of fifty pounds. And my

To matters of great moment the first four executors are to be consulted and their consent obtained.

further Will and meaning is and I do hereby direct and appoint that in matters of great moment and concern relating to the contents of this my Will nothing be altered or done without the assent or good liking of the aforenamed Daniel Earl of Nottingham Heneage Finch Esq. Doctor Robert South and William Thursby Esq. In witness whereof I have to this my Will containing four sheets of paper to every of the said sheets set to my hand and seal the tenth day of July in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary King and Queen and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Three. Richard Busby. Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of J. Bullock,[1] Ch. Battely,[2] Thos. Jones, Robt. Swann,[3] Edm. Burtt.

[1] John Bullock was one of the Almsmen of the Abbey.

[2] Charles Battely, Secondary of the Remembrancer's office, was a son-in-law of John Needham (or Nedham), Busby's solicitor.

[3] Robert Swann subsequently became a son-in-law of John Needham.

First Codicil, dated 11th July, 1693.

A Codicil to be annexed to my last Will bearing date the tenth day of this instant July signed sealed and published this eleventh day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety and Three which I do hereby declare shall be taken as part of my Will.

Trustees to pay £20 yearly to a lecturer who shall be a Westminster student of Christ Church, and shall deliver thirty lectures of practical divinity in one of the parish churches of Oxford.

I do hereby direct and appoint that my Trustees in my Will named their Heirs and Assignes do for ever pay and allow out of the rents issues and profits of my manor and lands in Willen in my Will named and elsewhere the yearly sum of Twenty pounds of lawful money of England to some worthy and learned person of the College of Christ Church in Oxford who hath been formerly a Westminster Schollar chosen by election student of divinity and fit for that purpose to be presented to the Dean by the Masters of Art of the said College such as also have been Westminster Schollars elected and to be chosen by the Dean out of two or three which shall be best qualified for that solemn and holy office and by him presented to my said Trustees to read and interpret in some one of the parish Churches in Oxford in thirty lectures of practical divinity all the principles of christian religion two and twenty of which said lectures my desire is may be performed betwixt Easter and Christmas expounding all the said principles contained in the Creed the Decalogue the Lords Prayer and the Sacraments. The other eight to be more exhortations for the stirring up the minds and affections of the hearers to the practice of what they have been taught and those to be performed betwixt Christmas and Easter and principally in Lent to the better preparing and making them more knowing and in better readiness for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament at Easter then following. And my Will is that all the said lectures and exhortations aforementioned shall be plain expositions of the several Christian principles (and not sermons) evidenced out of Scripture the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England and by authority of the fathers briefly and not otherwise. And because the purpose of instituting the lectures aforementioned is to the great end of educating the children in christian knowledge my Will is that the said lecturer do spend one third part of his hour in examining the children of the said parish concerning those questions and answers which he shall have delivered to them at the end of every lecture to be repeated by them at their next meeting to the said lecturer examining of them. And I do further give twenty shillings yearly for bibles and other books to be bought yearly for ever and distributed by the said lecturer to such of the said children as profit most under his instruc-

The children of the parish to be examined by the lecturer.

Bequest of £1 per annum for the purpose of

Bibles, etc. for prizes.

tion. Which said respective yearly sums of twenty pounds and twenty shillings my Will is shall be paid by half yearly payments upon the second Thursday in every Michaelmas and Easter Terms at the appointed meetings of my said Trustees by equal portions upon certificate

As to the mode of payment of the said sums by the trustees.

received by my said Trustees at their then several meetings from the Churchwardens of the said parish where the said lecture is read under their own hands that the duties before enjoined in the full number have been well duly and faithfully performed by the said lecturer according to my direction and intendment (that is to say) what number of my said lectures have been performed betwixt Easter and the second Thursday in every Michaelmas Term yearly. And again that the remainder and full number of the said thirty lectures have been performed before the aforesaid second Thursday in every Easter Term yearly and unless such certificate be sent as aforesaid the money to be detained and defalked and not paid. And I do further direct and

Trustees directed to take the advice of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in presenting to the living of Willen.

appoint that my Trustees in my Will named their Heirs and Assignes shall for ever take the advice and direction of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in Oxford and their successors in their presentation to the Church of Willen in my Will named whenever the same becomes void. (The body of which Church and Chancel I have built anew.) And my Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that the same be always conferred by them my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes

The nominee to be a Westminster student of Christ Church, etc.

upon such a worthy member of Christ Church as is both learned and religious and of good life and hath been chosen from Westminster by election and who hath been formerly Lecturer of the said principles of christianity (if any such be) and hath preached two laudable sermons in the University he undertaking to reside upon the place and upon his cure as the law requires him And also giving security by bond to my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes with such lawful conditions and in such form as Counsel learned in the law shall advise for his due performance thereof and as by law may or can be taken. And whereas I have at my own great costs erected a building for a library within the parish Church of Willen aforesaid and do intend to furnish the same with books to the value of One hundred and fifty pounds at the least for the use and benefit of the Vicars there and other neighbouring Ministers and have given also several Vestments and all the plate to be used at the Receiving of the Holy Communion there[1] which books

[1] The vestments are no longer in existence, but the Communion plate, consisting of Paten, Chalice, Flagon, and Alms-dish, are still in use.

Vestments and plate my desire is may be carefully preserved there for the benefit of succession and they being chiefly under the care of the Vicar of the said place. My Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that in case the said Vicar and his successors will be content to give such security to my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes as they shall think fit for the preservation of the said books vestments and plate (of which my intention is there shall be a catalogue kept of the books and a registry of the plate and vestments to be inspected every year by the Receiver of my rents at his coming thither whensoever he pleases) to the benefit of posterity and will also undertake to perform the duties hereafter enjoined in such manner as herein is directed (that is to say) that he do duly and constantly the reading of prayers in the said Church at Willen twice on every Holy day and once on every Wednesday and Friday as the Rubric directs. And that he do further read and interpret in thirty lectures of practical divinity all the principles of christian religion two and twenty of which said lectures my desire is may be performed betwixt Easter and Christmas expounding all the said principles contained in the Creed the Decalogue the Lords Prayer and the Sacraments the other eight to be more solemn exhortations for the stirring up the minds and affections of the hearers to the practice of what they have been taught and those to be performed betwixt Christmas and Easter and principally in Lent (in such like manner as is directed to be performed by the lecturers at Oxford) to the better preparing them and making them more knowing and in better readiness for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament at Easter then following. Then in such case my Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes upon his giving such security as is aforementioned and performance of the said duties before enjoined shall and do well and truly pay unto the said Vicar of Willen and his successors for ever (giving the like security and performing the said duties) out of the rents and profits of my manor and lands in Willen and elsewhere the yearly rent or sum of Twenty pounds of lawful money of England (over and above the money to be yearly paid him by the Decree of the High Court of Chancery) to be paid him by half yearly payments at the days aforementioned for the payment of the lecturer at Oxford upon certificate received by my said Trustees at their General Meetings from the Churchwardens of the said parish of Willen under their own hands that the duties before enjoined in their full number have been well duly and faithfully performed by the Vicar there

The catalogue of the books and the registry of the plate and investments in Willen Church to be inspected annually by the Receiver.

Duties of the Vicar.

Trustees to pay the Vicar £20 per annum for the delivery of thirty lectures of "practical divinity."

according to my direction and intendment (that is to say) what number of the said lectures hath been read between Easter and the second Thursday in Michaelmas Term and that the remainder of the said thirty lectures have been performed before the second Thursday in Easter Term following and unless such certificate be sent as aforesaid the money to be detained and defalked and not paid. And I do further give the sum of twenty shillings yearly for bibles and other books to be bought yearly and distributed by the said Vicars to such children as shall profit most under their instructions, to be paid by my said Trustees their Heirs and Assignes at the days and times aforementioned yearly for ever. Also I do further give and bequeath unto the Widow Bellare a remote relation of mine lately inhabiting in Ireland one annuity or yearly rent or sum of thirty pounds lawful money of England to be paid yearly during her life at the four most usual feasts in the year (that is to say) at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel the Birth of our Lord God the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Nativity of St. John Baptist by even and equal portions the first payment thereof to begin and be made at such of the said feasts as shall first happen next after my decease. And I do also give unto my schollar Michael Maitere (if he continue to live with me to the time of my death) one annuity or yearly rent or sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England to be paid to him yearly in like manner as last before mentioned during the term of his natural life. And to my servant John Gee (if he shall continue to live with me to the time of my death) I do also give the yearly rent or sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England to be paid to him in like manner at the feasts last before mentioned during the term of his natural life. Which said annuities or yearly rents or sums of money last before mentioned my Will is that they and every of them shall be paid by my said Trustees in my Will named their Heirs and Assignes out of the rents issues and profits of my said manor lands and premises in Willen aforesaid and elsewhere. In Witness whereof I have to this my Codicil containing two sheets and part of a third sheet of paper to every of the said sheets set to my hand and seal the day and year first above written. RI. BUSBY. Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of J. Bullock, Ch. Batteley, Tho. Jones, Robt. Swann, Edm. Burtt.

Bequest of £1 per annum for the purchase of Bibles, etc. as prizes to the children.

Annuity of £30 to Widow Bellare.

Annuity of £20 to Michael Maittaire.

The same to John Gee.

Second Codicil, dated 26th

A further Codicil to be annexed to my last Will which I do hereby declare shall be taken as a further part of my said Will whereas

I have by Deed poll in writing under my hand and seal dated the Ninth day of January last past promised and obliged myself and my Executors to found a Catechetical Lecture in Baliol College in Oxford for the purpose and upon conditions in a statute lately made by the Master Fellows and Schollars and ratified by the Visitor of the said College at or before Easter Day ensuing the date hereof and fearing least I should be surprised by death before I can effect the same now my Will and meaning is and I do hereby direct and appoint that my Trustees in my Will named their Heirs and Assignes do yearly for ever pay and allow unto such Catechetical Lecturer as shall be from time to time assigned or appointed by the Master for the time being of the said College the sum of thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence of lawful money of England to be paid in manner following (that is to say) upon every second Monday in Michaelmas Term the sum of Five pounds and upon every second Monday in Easter Term yearly for ever the sum of Eight pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence the said lecturer performing the duties required and enjoined him by the said statute and producing to my said Trustees such testimonial thereof by certificate under the hand of the Master of the said College only and no other to be delivered to my said Trustees asserting that the duties enjoined have been faithfully and fully performed for the same time and not otherwise. The said yearly rent of thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence to be issuing and payable for ever out of the rents issues and profits of my manor and lands in Willen in the said county of Bucks in my Will named anything before mentioned in my said Will contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. And my further Will and meaning is that all the Ministers to whom I have given donations in my said Will in an annual list and circle shall be obliged to read thirty Catechetical Lectures on thirty Sundays in every year in the afternoon fifteen in one half year and fifteen in the other half year.[1] the first half year beginning the second Monday in Easter Term and ending the second Monday in Michaelmas Term and the second half year beginning from the said second Monday in Michaelmas Term and ending the second Monday in Easter Term following. And that six of

February, 1694-5.

Recital of deed poll of 9th January, 1694-5, by which he bound himself to found a catechetical lecture at Balliol College, Oxford.

Direction to trustees to pay the lecturer £13 6s. 8d. per annum.

All ministers receiving donations under the will to give thirty catechetical lectures yearly.

[1] In a letter to Lord Lexington, dated 9th April, 1695, Mr. Vernon says, "Dr. Busby is at last dead, but has not left so great an estate as was expected. . . . What he had is chiefly given to the augmentation of several poor Vicarages, but he has tacked so many lectures to his gifts they will be dearly earned; he could not forbear being a pedant in his will, imposing exercises to the world's end" (*The Lexington Papers*, 1851, p. 74).

the lectures of the half year between the second Monday in Michaelmas Term and the second Monday in Easter Term shall be performed in Lent and shall be exhortary to the practice of what hath been taught in the former lectures preparatory for the worthy receiving of the Sacrament at Easter following in like manner as the Master and Fellows of Baliol College have voluntarily enjoined themselves to perform by a statute. And that the truth of the performance thereof be certified to my Trustees under the hands of the Churchwardens for the time being in the said Ministers respective parishes. And if any doubt shall arise in my said Trustees of the truth of the performance thereof and consequently of the certificate then the Diocesan of the place be desired to give his knowledge of the truth thereof, And upon such evidence given of the truth thereof the money to be paid forthwith without delay and otherwise no manner of payment to be made. IN EVIDENCE whereof I have to this my Codicil set to my hand and seal this Six and twentieth day of February in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King William III. etc. and in the year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety and four. RI. BUSBY. Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of STEPHEN CRESPION,[1] RICHARD KNIPE,[2] EDWARD CLIFT.

Evidence of the delivery of the lectures to be furnished.

Third Codicil, dated 26th February, 1694-5.

A FURTHER CODICIL to be annexed to my Will which I do hereby declare shall be taken as part of my Will. Whereas I have for some time intended to have a catalogue made of all my books and to have placed great part of them in the library belonging to the Kings School at Westminster built and fitted by me at my own great costs and charges and also some other part thereof such as may be fit for the use of the Ministry to be placed in the library belonging to the Church at Willen[3] in the county of Bucks built also by me at my own great charge. And whereas I have in my custody

[1] Stephen Crespion, Prebendary of Bristol, and Sacrist and Chaunter of Westminster Abbey, was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1666. He died on 25th November, 1711 (Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 273).

[2] Richard Knipe, Busby's godson, was a son of Busby's successor. He was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1686, and was appointed High Bailiff of Westminster on 23rd August, 1692. He was buried in the North Cloister on 22nd February, 1702-3 (*ibid.* p. 251).

[3] A *Catalogue of Books in the Library of Willen in the county of Bucks, partly the gift of Dr. Richard Busby,* A.D. 1695, *for the use of the Vicar or Resident Minister for the time being, and partly bequeathed by the Rev. Mr. Hume, Rector of Bradwell,* was published in 1848. The books are now kept in the Vicarage, the Library having been found too damp for them.

the greatest part of the study of books lately belonging to Mr. Thurscrosse deceased[1] as being one of his Executors and it being his intendment that such part of them as was fit for the use of poor country Curates should be sent down into Yorkshire and be disposed of as Mr. Thursby should advise to three Churches if they will serve them according to the tenor of his Will but by reason of my great age and infirmities I have not as yet placed and disposed of the same. Now my Will and meaning is and I do hereby direct and appoint that my Executors in my Will named with the advice of my Trustees or the major part of them and the assistance of my Schollar Mr. Michael Maitere and my servant John Gee who have been employed by me in the setting out of such books as I intended to have sent and placed at the several places aforementioned and have in good manner set out the greater part of the same and can give directions of my intendment therein do as soon as conveniently may be after my decease settle and dispose of the said books in the best manner my Executors can at the places and for the uses aforementioned and that catalogues be made of the books sent to every particular place and care taken by my Executors in the best manner they can for the preservation of them to posterity. And I further Will and direct that such part of my books as have been set apart for the use of the Ministers of the several parish Churches of Martock[2] and Cudworth[3] in the county of Somerset and their successors (a particular whereof remains in my servant John Gee's custody) be sent by my Executors to the Dean and Chapter of Wells for the use and benefit of the Ministers aforenamed and their successors for ever they giving security to the said Dean and Chapter of Wells for the preservation of them to posterity. In evidence whereof I have to this my Codicil set to my hand and seal this six and twentieth day of February in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King William, etc. And in the year of Our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety and four. RI. BUSBY. Signed sealed published and

As to the disposition of his own books and of those "lately belonging to Mr. Thurscrosse deceased."

[1] Probably the Rev. Timothy Thurcross, D.D., Canon of York, a Fellow of Eton College, and Minister of the Charterhouse. He was "a person of great piety and devotion, a mortified man, of a strict life, and of great charity" (*Life of the Rev. J. Barwick*, 1724, p. 339 note). He died in St. Sepulchre's parish, London, in November 1671.

[2] There are thirteen folio volumes at Martock with Busby's arms on the covers.

[3] Nothing is known at Cudworth about the books which Busby left to the parish church. That they were sent there by the executors there is little doubt, for it appears from Needham's accounts that £1 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid "to the carrier of Wells for the carriage of the books sent to Martock and Cudworth."

declared in the presence of Steph. Crespion, Richard Knipe, Edward Clift.

Fourth Codicil, dated 26th February, 1694-5. Bequest of several general and specific legacies.

A further Codicil to be annexed to my Will which I do hereby declare shall be taken as part of my said Will, I do hereby Will devise and bequeath unto my servant John Gee (over and above the annuity of twenty pounds a year for his life in my Will given to him) the sum of One hundred pounds of lawful money of England. And to Mr. Michael Maitere (over and above the life annuity of twenty pounds a year given to him in my said Will) the sum of fifty pounds of lawful money of England. And to my maid servant Martha I give the sum of forty pounds and to her sister my servant the sum of ten pounds and to my Cook-maid the sum of ten pounds and to my manservant Philipp the sum of twenty pounds over and above all wages due to them at the time of my decease. And my Will is that every of my servants aforementioned shall have half a year's wages besides the legacies aforementioned. And that the legacies and wages aforementioned be paid to them within one month after my decease. And my Will further is that there be a distribution of my apparel and the less considerable part of my household stuff between John Gee Martha and Philipp my servant aforementioned according as they are most proper for them and what more particularly to their keeping in such manner and proportion as my Executors or the major part of them shall think fit. And I further do direct and appoint that my servant Philipp shall have my horses and I give the same to him for his use and benefit. And I further give unto my said Schollar Mr. Michael Maitere what may be thought fit and necessary for the furnishing of a chamber for his use and benefit to be taken out of the whole of my household stuff in such manner as my Executors shall think fit. In witness whereof I have to this my Codicil set to my hand and seal this Six and twentieth day of February in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King William etc. And in the year of Our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety and four. RI. BUSBY. Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of Steph. Crespion, Richard Knipe, Edward Clift.

Fifth Codicil, undated and unsigned.

A Further Codicil to be annexed to my Will which I do hereby declare shall be taken as a part of my Will.

Whereas by my Will I have given no particular directions with relation to my funeral now I do declare my Will and desire is that if it

may be with convenience and with the assent and good liking of the Dean and my Brethren the prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster that my body may be decently buried without pomp at the discretion of my Executors in my Will named in the said Collegiate Church at Westminster as near as conveniently may be to the steps ascending to the Rail towards the Altar. And I give to such of my Trustees in my Will named as shall think fit to accompany my body to the grave the sum of Ten pounds apiece to buy them mourning and to Sir Thomas Robinson Baronet and his sister my only near relations now living to each of them the sum of Twenty pounds for the like use. And to my very good friends the Lord Bishop of Rochester the Dean of Westminster five guineas and to every of my Brethren the prebendaries there two guineas as a respect to them to buy rings in the remembrance of me. And to my Usher Mr. Thomas Knipe and to my assistant Mr. Michael Maitere to each of them one guinea for the like use. And to every of the King's Schollars belonging to the King's School at Westminster I give the sum of ten shillings for the like use. And to the Chaunter petty Canons Organist[1] and Master of the Choristers belonging to the Collegiate Church of Westminster aforesaid to every of them twenty shillings apiece. And to the rest of the gentlemen of the Choir of the said Church to every of them the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence. And to the Vergers and Sacrists there the like sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence. And to the Choristers there the sum of six shillings and eightpence apiece. And to the Bellringers and the Almsmen belonging to the said Church to every of them the sum of ten shillings. And to the Sub-steward High Bailiff Receiver Chapter Clerk Auditor and Library Keeper belonging to the said Collegiate Church to every of them a guinea. And to all the rest of the Officers and Servants belonging to the said Collegiate Church the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence to every of them. And to the Widows of my late Brethren Dr. Owtram Dr. Littleton Dr. Gibbs and Mr. Sill to every of them a guinea as a respect to them to buy rings. And my Will is that my servants shall have mourning given to them as my Executors shall think fit. Also I do give unto my Godson Mr. Richard Knipe and to his child my late Godson to each of them a fair Silver Tankard to be chosen by my Executors out of the plate which I shall

Directions as to his funeral.

Bequest of legacies for the purchase of mourning, and rings, etc.

Bequest of silver tankards to Richard Knipe and his son.

[1] Henry Purcell succeeded John Blow as organist of the Abbey in 1680. He died a few months after Busby, on 21st November, 1695. The "mourning ring of Dr. Busby's" was, at his request, given to his son Edward (see Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 257, note 3).

leave behind me and delivered to the said Mr. Richard Knipe. And my further Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint my Executors in my said Will named do within one month after my decease pay and dispose of fifty pounds of good money amongst poor housekeepers inhabiting within the parish of St. Margaret in Westminster in such like manner and proportion as they shall think fit. And whereas I have long intended to have repaired and beautified the Chapel of Lutton in the county of Lincoln the place of my nativity and have already by the assistance of Dr. Hooke begun the said work now my Will is that if it should please God that I happen to die before the same be finished that then my Executors with the advice and assistance of the said Dr. Hooke do finish and complete the same in such manner as I have acquainted the said Dr. Hooke I intended to have performed. Also I do hereby further give and bequeath unto my said servant John Gee over and above the Annuity which I have already devised to him the further yearly sum of thirty pounds to be paid to him in the manner as the former Annuity of twenty pounds is directed to be paid for and during the term of his natural life. And to my Schollar Mr. Michael Maitere the further yearly sum of twenty pounds to be paid to him also in like manner as the former Annuity of twenty pounds given to him is directed to be paid. And to my maidservant Martha I give the yearly sum of twenty marks to be paid her during the term of her natural life. And to my maidservant Elizabeth I give the yearly sum of twenty nobles to be paid during the term of her natural life. And to my maidservant Mary I give the yearly sum of ten pounds to be paid to her during the term of her natural life. And to my manservant Philipp I give the yearly sum of ten pounds to be paid to him for and during the term of his natural life. All which annuities last beforementioned my Will is shall be paid out of the rents issues and profits of my manor and lands in Willen and elsewhere by half yearly payments at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And when any of them shall happen to die my Will is that the part of him or her so dying shall be paid and disposed by my Trustees in my Will named for the benefit and relief of poor Ministers in such like manner as I have therein directed. And in further regard to the great trouble I have given to my aforenamed servants and Schollar in the time of my sickness and of their integrity to me I do further give and bequeath to them over and besides what I have already given to them to my servant John Gee the sum of One

Bequest of £50 to the poor housekeepers of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

His intended restoration of Lutton Chapel to be carried out by his executors.

Gift of further annuities to his servants and to Michael Maittaire.

hundred pounds to Mr. Michael Maitere the sum of One hundred pounds to my servant Martha the sum of Thirty pounds and to her sister my servant the sum of Twenty pounds and to my servant Philipp the sum of Fifty pounds and to my servant Elizabeth the sum of Twenty Marks of good and lawful money of England to be paid to them by my Executors within one month after my decease. In witness whereof I have to this my Codicil containing two sheets of paper set to my hand and seal this day of April in the year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety five.

Bequest of further legacies to his servants and Michael Maittaire

Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of as also attested by us in the presence of the Testator.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A. W. = *Alumni Westmonasterienses* (1852).
W. S. R. = *The Westminster School Register* (1892).
D. N. B. = *The Dictionary of National Biography* (in progress).
G. E. C. = *The Complete Peerage*, by G. E. C. (in progress).

APPENDIX II

LIST OF BUSBY TRUSTEES

TRUSTEES APPOINTED UNDER DR. BUSBY'S WILL

Daniel, Earl of Nottingham.[1]
James, Viscount Lanesborough.[2]
The Hon. Heneage Finch.[3]
Sir Thomas Dyke, Bart.[4]
Sir Thomas Millington, Kt.[5]
Sir John Baber, Kt.[6]
Dr. George Hooper.[7]
Dr. Robert South.[8]
William Thursby, Esq.[9]
Richard Newman, Esq.[10]
William Busby, Esq.[11]
The Rev. Thomas Knipe.[12]
John Needham, Gent.[13]

[1] Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham. See A. W. 570; D. N. B. xix. 1.
[2] James Lane, second Viscount Lanesborough. See G. E. C. v. 11.
[3] Heneage Finch, first Earl of Aylesford. See A. W. 570; D. N. B. xix. 12.
[4] See Foster's *Baronetage*, 1881, p. 197; *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500—1714, vol. i. p. 438.
[5] See A. W. 122; D. N. B. xxxvii. 442.
[6] See A. W. 119; D. N. B. ii. 307.
[7] See A. W. 147; D. N. B. xxvii. 301.
[8] See A. W. 136.
[9] Probably William Thursby of Abington, Northamptonshire, M.P. for Northampton, who died at his house in the Savoy on 4th Feb., 1700-1. Thursby was a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and held the posts of Chief Justice of Ely, and Custos Brevium of the Common Pleas. See Baker's *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, 1822-30, vol. i. pp. 11, 15; Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, vol. iv. 405, v. 14.
[10] Probably Richard Newman, High Steward of Westminster, who died on 24th Sept., 1695. See *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500—1714, iii. 1062; Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Soc. Pub., No. x.), p. 169.
[11] Son of Robert Busby, of Addington, Bucks, a Bencher of Gray's Inn, by his wife Abigail, daughter of Sir John Gore, Kt., Alderman of London. He was admitted to Gray's Inn on 26th Nov., 1660 (Foster's *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 1889, p. 290). His nephew, Dick Busby, the second son of Sir John Busby, is described as "being a very idle youth. Dr. Busby is his godfather, and was his master, but he was aweary of slashing him" (*Historical MSS. Commission*, *Seventh Report*, app. i. p. 481).
[12] See A. W. 147; D. N. B. xxxi. 272.
[13] John Needham was Receiver-General and Solicitor to the Abbey (Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 257).

SUBSEQUENT APPOINTMENTS.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1701, Feb. 14	William, Lord Dartmouth [14]	Richard Newman, Esq.[10]
,, ,, ,,	Dr. George Smalridge [15]	William Thursby, Esq.[9]
1704, Dec. 21	Sir Gilbert Dolben [16]	Sir Thomas Millington [5]
,, ,, ,,	Dr. Henry Aldrich [17]	Sir. John Baber [6]
1705, Feb. 27	Charles Bertie, Esq.[18]	William Busby, Esq.[11]
,, ,, ,,	Dr. Francis Atterbury [19]	John Needham [13]
1710, Feb. 19	John, Lord Carteret [20]	Sir Thomas Dyke [4]
,, ,, ,,	The Rev. Thomas Sprat [21]	Dr. Henry Aldrich [17]
1711, March 8	The Hon. Dixie Windsor [22]	Charles Bertie, Esq. [18]
,, ,, ,,	Dr. Robert Freind [23]	Dr. Thomas Knipe [12]
1719, Jan. 28	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford [24]	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford [3]
,, ,, ,,	Jonathan, Bishop of Winchester [25]	George, Bishop of Bristol [15]
,, ,, ,,	The Hon. Henry Brydges [26]	Dr. Robert South [8]
1720, March 14	Lionel, Duke of Dorset [27]	The Rev. Thomas Sprat [21]
1722, May 30	Daniel, Lord Finch [28]	Jonathan, Bishop of Winchester [25]
1723, Feb. 28	Francis, Bishop of Chester [29]	Sir Gilbert Dolben [16]
1724, Feb. 5	Henry, Lord Carleton [30]	James, Visct. Lanesborough [2]
1725, Feb. 18	Lancelot, Archbishop of York [31]	Henry, Lord Carleton [30]
,, ,, ,,	Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer [32]	Francis, Bishop of Chester [29]
1727, March 13	Dr. William Stratford [33]	George, Bishop of Bath and Wells [7]

[14] William Legge, first Earl of Dartmouth. See D. N. B. xxxii, 416.
[15] See A. W. 195.
[16] See A. W. 175; D. N. B. xv. 189.
[17] See A. W. 155; D. N. B. i. 251.
[18] Probably the Hon. Charles Bertie, fifth son of Montagu, second Earl of Lindsey, who died on 22nd March, 1710-11. See Collins's *Peerage*, 1812, vol. ii. p. 19; *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500—1714, vol. i. p. 117.
[19] See A. W. 185; D. N. B. ii. 233.
[20] John Carteret, Earl Granville. See D. N. B. ix. 210.
[21] See A. W. 233.
[22] See A. W. 221.
[23] See A. W. 205; D. N. B. xx. 243.
[24] Heneage Finch, second Earl of Aylesford. See A. W. 571.
[25] Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart. See A. W. 165.
[26] See A. W. 217.
[27] Lionel Cranfield Sackville, first Duke of Dorset. See G. E. C. iii. 152.
[28] Daniel Finch, third Earl of Nottingham and seventh Earl of Winchilsea. See A. W. 570.
[29] Francis Gastrell. See A. W. 188.
[30] Henry Boyle, first Baron Carleton. See D. N. B. vi. 110
[31] Lancelot Blackburne. See A. W. 178.
[32] Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. See D. N. B. xxiv. 394.
[33] See A. W. 210.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1728, March 11 ...	Thomas Lutwyche, Esq.[34] ...	The Hon. Henry Brydges[26]
1729, Feb. 24 ...	John Wainwright, Esq.[35] ...	Daniel, Earl of Nottingham[1]
„ „ „ ...	The Rev. John Nicoll[36] ...	Dr. William Stratford[33]
1732, March 30 ...	Thomas, Duke of Newcastle[37]	Dr. Francis Atterbury[19]
1734, March 20 ..	William Pulteney, Esq.[38] ...	Thomas Lutwyche, Esq.[34]
1741, Feb. 25 ...	The Right Hon. Henry Pelham[39]	Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer[32]
„ „ „ ...	The Hon. William Murray[40] ...	John Wainwright, Esq.[35]
1743, March 30 ...	Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer[41]	Lancelot, Archbishop of York[31]
1744, March 22 ...	The Rev. Dr. James Johnson[42]	The Hon. Dixie Windsor[22]
1751, April 26 ...	Charles, Duke of Beaufort[43] ...	William, Earl of Dartmouth[11]
1752, April 13 ...	Andrew Stone, Esq.[44]	Dr. Robert Freind[23]
1754, April 4 ...	Charles, Earl of Egremont[45] ...	The Right Hon. Henry Pelham[59]
1756, March 18 ...	Dr. William Markham[46] ...	Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer[41]
1758, April 18 ...	Thomas, Duke of Leeds[47] ...	Charles, Duke of Beaufort[43]
„ „ „ ...	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford[48] ...	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford[24]
1763, April 14 ...	Charles, Marquis of Rockingham[49]	John, Earl Granville[20]
1764, April 11 ...	Robert, Archbishop of York[50]	Charles, Earl of Egremont[45]
1765, March 14 ...	William, Duke of Portland[51]	William, Earl of Bath[58]
1766, April 10 ...	William, Earl of Dartmouth[52]	Lionel, Duke of Dorset[27]
„ „ „ ...	Dr. Samuel Smith[53]	Dr. John Nicoll[36]
1769, March 16 ...	The Right Hon. William Dowdeswell[54]	Thomas, Duke of Newcastle[37]

[34] See A. W. 222. [35] See A. W. 250. [36] See A. W. 244.
[37] Thomas Pelham-Holles, first Duke of Newcastle. See D. N. B. xliv. 257.
[38] William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. See G. E. C. i. 266.
[39] The Right Hon. Henry Pelham. See D. N. B. xliv. 244.
[40] William Murray, first Earl of Mansfield. See A. W. 281.
[41] Edward Harley, third Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. See G. E. C. vi. 180.
[42] See A. W. 288.
[43] Charles Noel Somerset, fourth Duke of Beaufort. See G. E. C. i. 282.
[44] See A. W. 278.
[45] Charles Wyndham, second Earl of Egremont. See G. E. C. iii. 248.
[46] See A. W. 318.
[47] Thomas Osborne, fourth Duke of Leeds. See G. E. C. v. 37.
[48] Heneage Finch, third Earl of Aylesford. See A. W. 571.
[49] Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham. See G. E. C. vi. 386.
[50] The Hon. Robert Hay-Drummond. See A. W. 389.
[51] William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, third Duke of Portland. See D. N. B. iv. 302.
[52] William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth. See D. N. B. xxxii. 117.
[53] See A. W. 353. [54] See A. W. 175.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1770, March 27 ...	Granville, Earl Gower[55] ...	Daniel, Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham[28]
1774, March 17 ...	Robert, Earl of Holdernesse[56]	Andrew Stone, Esq.[44]
1775, March 30 ...	Henry, Duke of Beaufort[57] ...	James, Bishop of Worcester[42]
,, ,, ,, ...	David, Viscount Stormont[58]	The Right Hon. William Dowdeswell[54]
1777, March 25 ...	The Right Hon. Welbore Ellis[59]	Robert, Archbishop of York[50]
1780, April 17 ...	Francis, Earl of Huntingdon[60]	Robert, Earl of Holdernesse[56]
,, ,, ,, ...	Sir John Skynner, Kt.[61] ...	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford[48]
1783, April 10 ...	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford[62]	Charles, Marquis of Rockingham[49]
1790, April 22 ...	Francis, Duke of Leeds[63] ...	Thomas, Duke of Leeds[47]
,, ,, ,, ...	Dr. William Vincent[64] ...	Francis, Earl of Huntingdon[60]
1793, April 18 ...	Edward, Bishop of Oxford[65] ...	William, Earl of Mansfield[40]
1797, May 11 ...	John, Duke of Dorset[66] ...	David, Earl of Mansfield[58]
1799, May 23 ...	William, Earl of Mansfield[67]	Francis, Duke of Leeds[63]
1800, May 8 ...	Robert, Earl of Kinnoul[68] ...	John, Duke of Dorset[66]
,, ,, ,, ...	Dr. Cyril Jackson[69]	Edward, Bishop of Oxford[65]
1802, May 18 ...	The Right Hon. Charles Abbot[70]	William, Earl of Dartmouth[52]
,, ,, ,, ...	Sir George Osborne, Bart.[71] ...	Welbore, Lord Mendip[59]
1804, May 3 ...	Henry, Duke of Beaufort[72] ...	Henry, Duke of Beaufort[57]
,, ,, ,, ...	John, Bishop of Oxford[73] ...	Robert, Earl of Kinnoul[68]
,, ,, ,, ...	Dr. William Carey[74]	Granville, Marquis of Stafford[55]
1806, May 8 ...	John, Duke of Bedford[75] ...	Sir John Skynner[61]
1808, May 21 ...	Edward, Archbishop of York[76]	William, Archbishop of York[46]

[55] Granville Leveson Gower, first Marquis of Stafford. See A. W. 314.
[56] Robert D'Arcy, fourth Earl of Holdernesse. See D. N. B. xiv. 47.
[57] Henry Somerset, fifth Duke of Beaufort. See G. E. C. i. 282.
[58] David Murray, second Earl of Mansfield. See A. W. 330.
[59] Welbore Ellis, Baron Mendip. See A. W. 304.
[60] Francis Hastings, tenth Earl of Huntingdon. See G. E. C. iv. 292.
[61] See A. W. 326.
[62] Heneage Finch, fourth Earl of Aylesford. See A. W. 571.
[63] Francis Osborne, fifth Duke of Leeds. See D. N. B. xlii. 286.
[64] See A. W. 367. [65] Edward Smallwell. See A. W. 320.
[66] John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset. See G. E. C. iii. 152.
[67] David William Murray, third Earl of Mansfield. See A. W. 432.
[68] Robert Auriol Hay-Drummond, ninth Earl of Kinnoul. See A. W. 390.
[69] See A. W. 381. [70] Charles Abbot, first Baron Colchester. See A. W. 402.
[71] See A. W. 519.
[72] Henry Charles Somerset, sixth Duke of Beaufort. See W. S. R. 215.
[73] John Randolph. See A. W. 385. [74] See W. S. R. 41.
[75] John Russell, sixth Duke of Bedford. See W. S. R. 200.
[76] The Hon. Edward Harcourt. See A. W. 459; D. N. B. xxiv. 319.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1808, May 21	The Right Hon. Sir Archibald Macdonald, Kt.[77]	Dr. Samuel Smith[53]
1810, May 23	Thomas, Earl of Chichester[78]	William, Duke of Portland[51]
1813, May 18	Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne[79]	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford[62]
1814, May 14	William, Bishop of Oxford[80]	John, Bishop of London[73]
1816, June 8	George, Earl of Ashburnham[81]	Dr. William Vincent[61]
,, ,, ,,	Dr. William Page[82]	William, Bishop of Oxford[80]
1818, May 16	Thomas, Viscount Bulkeley[83]	Dr. Cyril Jackson[69]
1819, May 11	William, Lord Amherst[84]	Sir George Osborne[71]
1820, May 27	Henry, Marquis of Anglesey[85]	Dr. William Page[82]
1823, May 27	Dr. Edmund Goodenough[86]	Thos., Viscount Bulkeley[83]
1826, May 26	William Courtenay, Esq.[87]	Sir Archibald Macdonald, Bart.[77]
1827, May 19	Charles, Duke of Richmond[88]	Thomas, Earl of Chichester[78]
1829, June 15	The Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams-Wynn[89]	Charles, Lord Colchester[70]
1831, May 31	Richard, Viscount Belgrave[90]	George, Earl of Ashburnham[81]
1836, April 30	The Hon. Fulke Greville Howard[91]	Henry, Duke of Beaufort[72]
1840, May 23	Charles, Lord Colchester[92]	John, Duke of Bedford[75]
,, ,, ,,	Joseph Phillimore, Esq. D.C.L.[93]	William, Earl of Mansfield[67]
1845, June 3	William, Viscount Barrington[94]	Dr. Edmund Goodenough[86]
1846, June 16	Henry Lewis Wickham, Esq.[95]	The Hon. Fulke Greville Howard[91]

[77] See A. W. 381.
[78] Thomas Pelham, second Earl of Chichester. See W. S. R. 181; D. N. B. xliv. 252.
[79] Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, third Marquis of Lansdowne. See G. E. C. v. 18.
[80] William Jackson. See A. W. 388.
[81] George Ashburnham, third Earl of Ashburnham. See W. S. R. 9.
[82] See W. S. R. 175.
[83] Thomas James Warren-Bulkeley, Viscount Bulkeley. See G. E. C. ii. 74.
[84] William Pitt Amherst, first Earl Amherst. See W. S. R. 5.
[85] Henry William Paget, first Marquis of Anglesey. See W. S. R. 176.
[86] See W. S. R. 94.
[87] William Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devon. See W. S. R. 55.
[88] Charles Gordon-Lennox, fifth Duke of Richmond. See W. S. R. 139.
[89] See W. S. R. 258.
[90] Richard Grosvenor, second Marquis of Westminster. See W. S. R. 100.
[91] See W. S. R. 118.
[92] Charles Abbot, second Baron Colchester. See W. S. R. 1.
[93] See W. S. R. 183.
[94] William Keppel Barrington, sixth Viscount Barrington. See W. S. R. 16.
[95] See W. S. R. 247.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1847, May 1	... Francis, Duke of Bedford[96]	... William, Bishop of St. Asaph[74]
1848, June 27	... Charles, Bishop of Ripon[97]	... Edward, Archbishop of York[76]
1851, May 13	... Nicholas, Lord Colborne[98]	... The Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams-Wynn[89]
1854, May 26	... George, Earl of Albemarle[99]	... Henry, Marquis of Anglesey[85]
„ „ „	... Sir Edward Vaughan Williams[100]	... Nicholas, Lord Colborne[98]
1855, May 5	... The Right Hon. Sir David Dundas[101]	... Joseph Phillimore, D.C.L.[93]
1857, May 2	... Egerton Harcourt, Esq.[102]	... William, Earl Amherst[84]
1859, May 14	... James Mure, Esq.[103] ...	... William, Earl of Devon[87]
1861, May 11	... William, Earl of Devon[104]	... Charles, Duke of Richmond[88]
1861, June 28	... Henry, Earl of Chichester[105]	Francis, Duke of Bedford[96]
1863, June 2	... John, Earl Russell[106] ...	... Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne[79]
1865, May 16	... William, Lord de Ros[107]	... Henry Lewis Wickham, Esq.[95]
1867, May 21	... Charles, Duke of Richmond and Gordon[108]	William, Viscount Barrington[94]
1868, May 19	... The Right Hon. Sir Robert Joseph Phillimore, Bart.[109]	Charles, Lord Colchester[92]
1869, May 18	... William, Earl Amherst[110]	... Charles, Archbishop of Canterbury[97]
1870, May 17	... Granville Robert Henry Somerset, Esq., Q.C.[111]	... Richard, Marquis of Westminster[90]

[96] Francis Russell, seventh Duke of Bedford. See W. S. R. 200.
[97] Charles Thomas Longley. See W. S. R. 144.
[98] Nicholas William Ridley-Colborne, Baron Colborne. See W. S. R. 49.
[99] George Thomas Keppel, sixth Earl of Albemarle. See W. S. R. 131.
[100] See W. S. R. 249.
[101] See W. S. R. 71.
[102] See W. S. R. 105.
[103] See W. S. R. 166.
[104] William Reginald Courtenay, eleventh Earl of Devon. See W. S. R. 55.
[105] Henry Thomas Pelham, third Earl of Chichester. See W. S. R. 181; D. N. B. xliv. 247.
[106] John Russell, first Earl Russell. See W. S. R. 200.
[107] William Lennox Lascelles Fitzgerald-De-Ros, twenty-second Baron De Ros. See W. S. R. 63.
[108] Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, sixth Duke of Richmond. See W. S. R. 139.
[109] See W. S. R. 184.
[110] William Pitt Amherst, second Earl Amherst. See W. S. R. 3.
[111] See W. S. R. 215.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1874, June 16	*Charles Watkin Williams-Wynn, Esq., M.P.[112]	William, Lord de Ros[107]
1875, June 1	*Lord Richard de Aquila Grosvenor[113]	The Right Hon. Sir David Dundas[101]
1876, May 16	The Rev. Henry Bull[114]	The Right Hon. Sir E. Vaughan Williams[100]
1877, June 19	James Lowther, Esq, M.P.[115]	James Mure, Esq.[103]
1879, May 20	Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bart., M.P.[116]	John, Earl Russell[106]
1881, May 17	*James Banks Stanhope, Esq.[117]	Granville Robert Henry Somerset, Esq.[111]
1884, June 17	*Henry Richard Farrer, Esq.[118]	Egerton Harcourt, Esq.[102]
„ „ „	*William Wickham, Esq.[119]	Charles, Duke of Richmond and Gordon[108]
„ „ „	*Sir Walter George Frank Phillimore, Bart.[120]	The Right Hon. Sir Robert Joseph Phillimore[109]
1885, May 19	*The Right Hon. Sir John Robert Mowbray, Bart.[121]	Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bart.[116]
1886, May 18	William, Lord Esher[122]	Henry, Earl of Chichester[105]
„ „ „	*Walter Carew Cocks, Esq.[123]	William, Earl Amherst[110]
1889, May 25	*Robert Uniacke Fitzgerald Penrose-Fitzgerald, Esq., M.P.[124]	William, Earl of Devon[104]
„ „ „	Dr. William John Butler[125]	The Rev. Henry Bull[114]
1890, May 20	*Sir Roland Lomax Vaughan Williams[126]	The Right Hon. James Lowther[115]
1890, June 17	*Victor Alexander Williamson, Esq., C.M.G.[127]	William, Lord Esher[122]

[112] See W. S. R. 258.
[113] Richard De Aquila Grosvenor, first Baron Stalbridge. See W. S. R. 100, 261.
[114] See W. S. R. 36. [115] See W. S. R. 145. [116] See W. S. R. 258.
[117] See W. S. R. 217. [118] See W. S. R. 79. [119] See W. S. R. 247.
[120] See W. S. R. 184. [121] See W. S. R. 164.
[122] William Baliol Brett, first Baron Esher. See W. S. R. 31.
[123] See W. S. R. 49. [124] See W. S. R. 82. [125] See W. S. R. 39.
[126] See W. S. R. 250. [127] See W. S. R. 251.

* The present trustees are denoted by an asterisk.

Date of Appointment.	Names of the New Trustees.	Appointed in the place of.
1892, May 17 ...	*Arthur Watkin Williams-Wynn, Esq.[128]	George, Earl of Albemarle[99]
1893, June 19 ...	*Thomas Townsend Bucknill, Esq., M.P., Q.C.[129]	Dr. William John Butler[125]

[128] See W. S. R. 258.

[129] See W. S. R. 35, 260.

* The present trustees are denoted by an asterisk.

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